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EDITORIAL

The AUTUMNAL MEETING of our Society will be held at Blackpool on Wednesday, 16th October, at 4.30 p.m., in the Wesleyan Lecture Hall, Adelaide Street. A paper on "Early Nonconformist Churches in Lancashire" is expected from the Rev. J. H. Colligan, Presbyterian minister of Lancaster, and opportunity for discussion will be afforded.

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Our Society has sustained a grievous loss by the death of the Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A., of Bradtord, which took place on 30th July. Mr. Dale was a Cornishman, having been born at Cury, near Helstone, on 22nd February, 1832. In his youth he was a member of the Wesleyan Association, now merged in the United Methodist Church, but having adopted Congregational principles he entered the Western College, then seated at Plymouth, at the age of 18. His first pastorate was at Coggeshall, Essex, the church founded by Dr. John Owen ; where he was ordained in 1855, and ministered about seven years. During that time he contributed materially to the success of the local bicentenary commemoration of the ejected ministers, and wrote *The Annals of Coggeshall*, which is of permanent value. In 1863 he removed to Sion Chapel, Halifax, where he exercised a fruitful ministry for over 23 years, during which time two new Congregational churches were established in the town. Retiring from pastoral work in 1886 he became secretary of the Yorkshire Congregational Union, in which capacity he served the churches to the end of his life. His life of *The Good Lord Wharton* takes rank as a standard biography ; and by his untiring efforts the perversion of that nobleman's "Bible Charity" was in large measure—though not altogether—rectified. He wrote a number of papers on antiquarian topics, some of which were issued as separate pamphlets. But, next to his pastoral and secretarial duties, his favourite pursuit was investigating and recovering the history of Yorkshire Nonconformity. It has been said that "what Mr. Dale did not know of the churches of Yorkshire was not worth knowing." His MS. collections fill numerous volumes ; and it is hoped that arrangements will be made to render generally

accessible the result of his researches. Mr. Dale was present at our annual meeting in May, when his bodily feebleness was painfully evident. His character is happily summarized in a newspaper obituary :—"A strong, true, and tender friend and Christian ; in every respect an able minister of the New Covenant."

*

An interesting communication from Principal Gordon, of Manchester, corrects two inaccuracies in the account of Richard Frankland and his Academy, vol. II., pp. 428-9. He informs us that Joseph Boyse was not a Baptist but a Presbyterian ; who "was for infant baptism not only in his practice but in his polemics." He further says that the John Piggott who was Frankland's pupil was living at Bolsover in 1726. The Baptist minister in Little Wild Street was another person of the same name.

*

A. J. Davy, Esq., of Torquay, furnishes some interesting facts relative to Rollin—or more correctly Rawlin—Mallock, the donor of the richly chased cup figured in our account of the Taunton communion plate. His father, Roger Mallock of Exeter, merchant and silversmith, is nominated a life member of the city council in the charter granted to the city by Charles I. in 1627. He was sheriff of Exeter in 1631, mayor in 1632, and again in 1636. His house, still standing in Gander Street, afforded lodging to the judges in 1640 and 1646. In 1648 he was ejected from the council for his resistance to their order to deface an inscription on the wall of a churchyard recording its consecration about 11 years before. The inscription, however, was not defaced, for it still remains. Evidently Roger Mallock's sympathies were not with the Puritan party. In 1654 he bought from Sir Wm. Cary the house and manor of Cockington, which was rebuilt by his son. The latter, Rawlin Mallock, J.P., was M.P. for Ashburton from 1677 to 1679, and for Totnes in 1689-90. He died in 1690, or soon after, leaving the house and manor to his son of the same name, then a child about 9 years old. His descendant and namesake was the Tory member for Torquay division in the last Parliament.

*

In our account of the ancient church at Ravenstonedale (III., 91), the origin of Nonconformity in that neighbourhood is ascribed to the labours of the Rev. Chr. Jackson after the Restoration. N. Penney, Esq., of the Friends' Library, reminds us that George Fox, Francis Howgill, and other Friends visited the district as early as

1652, when several were "convinced," and a meeting established which continued until 1709, and probably later. See *First Publishers of Truth*, pp. 248, 272.

•

Mr. Penney informs us that several of what for convenience we have called "canting names" are found among early Friends in Great Britain and Ireland; e.g., William Edmundson, the Quaker apostle of Ireland, called a son "Trial" in 1700. Still later in America are to be found Consider Merritt (man) 1766, and Thankful Collins (woman) 1798. The name Offspring Blackall was inflicted in 1652 on a child who lived to be Bishop of Exeter. Reverting to an earlier time, a correspondent calls our attention to the commencement to Penry's farewell letter to his children (1593) "To my dear and tenderly beloved daughters; Deliverance, comfort, safety, and sure hope." This phrase has usually been understood as a benediction; but the fact that one of them, probably the eldest, was named Deliverance (she was married in 1611, aged 21) suggests that the other words were also names—Comfort, Safety, Sure-hope. Comfort as a woman's name is not unknown in America; Grace and Mercy, names of the same class, are fairly common, and Hope is still occasionally met with. Only a few years ago some amusement was caused by the appearance of a Mrs. Virtue Innocent at a police court on a charge of which she was honourably acquitted. And the editor has personally known two women who were afflicted with the names Temperance and Obedience. Evidently "canting names" were not peculiar to the generation of Praise-God Barbone.

•

The *Axminster Ecclesiastica* has been for some years out of print. It is much to be wished that this instructive record of troublous times may soon be replaced on the list of current literature. Meanwhile the Rev. F. B. Wyatt has printed, in a small pamphlet, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of the Congregational Order in Axminster*, which contains numerous extracts from the ancient MS.

•

Another small publication to which we accord a hearty welcome is *Wem: History and Guide*, by Rev. H. Merchant, M.A. It contains a concise account of the local Nonconformity; which claims among its worthies Andrew Parsons (the ejected rector), Richard Latham (the first dissenting minister), Peter Edwards, the elder Hazlitt, and Sir John Bickerton Williams. It would be well if similar local histories were published of many small towns where

faithful men served their generation by the will of God and are now all but forgotten.

*

We have received from our esteemed treasurer, the Rev. G. L. Turner, M.A., a critique on Mr. Boseley's book on *The Independent Church of Westminster Abbey*, the severity of which compels abridgment. Mr. Turner writes:—

"To a reader with Nonconformist sympathies and an entirely uncritical spirit, this book may prove interesting or even enlightening But to one who knows anything of his Calamy or Wilson's *History of the Dissenting Churches of London*, and has read Dr. Vaughan's *English Nonconformity*, and vol. III. of Dr. Stoughton's *History of Religion in England*, what there is in this goodly volume of plain historic fact will seem strangely familiar ; and its redundancies, needless repetitions [and] irrelevant excursions into topics only in the remotest fashion connected with the subject [are] irritating and disappointing." [After reference to preliminary announcements] "We regret to say, however, the expectant student will look in vain for anything fresh or new, or for any evidence of original research, except perhaps the leaf from the parish register of St. Bartholomew's, which shews that Hogarth was baptized in the church in the purlieu of which the Independents worshipped who had migrated from the Westminster Abbey church of Commonwealth days."

[The reviewer proceeds to notice a number of serious inaccuracies :—] "On p. 103 we are told that the Rev. W. Strong was buried in the south transept of the Abbey, near his Presbyterian predecessor. His Presbyterian predecessor was the Rev. Stephen Marshall, B.D. (p. 71), who did not die—we are told on p. 72—till November 19, 1655 ; whereas William Strong was dead and buried on July 4, 1654, which is more than 16 months before. . . . Hardly less a chronological error is the reference to Sir Harbottle Grimstone as Speaker of the House of Commons in the year of the Great Plague (1665). Sir Harbottle Grimstone was a member of the House at the time, for he stood for Colchester in the five successive Parliaments from 1660 to 1685 ; but it was only in the *first* of these—what has been called 'The Healing Parliament'—which recalled Charles the Second—that he was Speaker. The Plague happened in the *second*, when Sir Edward Turner was Speaker.

"But the worst of all is the laboured reference (covering six pages, 179-185) to Sir Walter Mildmay as connected with the priory church of St. Bartholomew Sir Walter Mildmay according to our author "lived in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. rendering most eminent service to the state when Elizabeth was

queen" (p. 179). Quite true, it was in Elizabeth's reign that he died, in the 77th year of his age, in the year 1589. But that being the case, how could any man write on the self-same page of this Sir Walter Mildmay, 'While the Independents continued to worship in this Priory Meeting-house' there was one 'in public authority whose sympathies were entirely with them,' when he has told us that they did not begin to meet there till after 1660; and proceed to dilate on the stirring thought that he would not infrequently worship with them, when he had died more than 70 years before?

"It . . . surely wounds the *amour propre* of any intelligent Independent to think that a volume so . . . defaced by bad mistakes should have been presented to the King, and accepted by him as a sample of Nonconformist scholarship! We can only hope that he has not read it, and that it has not fallen into the hands of any Court ecclesiastics with a gift for 'higher criticism.'"

[It is only a matter of simple justice that Mr. Boseley should have the right of reply.—EDITOR.]

CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FINANCIAL STATEMENT from May 11th, 1906, to May 8th, 1907.

RECEIPTS.		£	s.	d.	
Balance in hand	-	95	3	3	
Annual Subscriptions	-	69	15	0	
Sales—					
C.H.S. <i>Transactions</i> , etc.	11	9	7		
Burrage's Booklet	-	2	8	0	
		13	17	7	
		£178	15	10	

PAYMENTS.		£	s.	d.	
Printing <i>Transactions</i>	-	78	17	0	
Burrage's Booklet	-	4	5	0	
Hire of Room, Memorial Hall	-	1	1	0	
Cash Journal	-	1	7	6	
Annual Subscription — Friends' Historical Society	-	0	5	0	
Postages, Stationery, Printing and Sundries	-	5	6	5	
Balance at Bank	-	87	13	11	
		£178	15	10	

Examined and certified correct,

JOHN MINSHULL.

July 2nd, 1907.

Memorials of Dr. Doddridge

IN the *Transactions* of last January the secretary requested information respecting autographs or relics of Watts and Doddridge. Several correspondents have supplied welcome contributions, including unpublished letters of *both* these eminent divines, which it is hoped will be printed next year. Meanwhile, we have pleasure in giving a list of *all* the Doddridge relics and autographs which we have been able to locate. Personal memorials of Dr. Watts appear to be much more rare. We shall be glad to receive and utilize further communications on the subject.

I.—Doddridge Relics in the possession of the church at Castle Hill, Northampton.

- Church Book, containing entries in Doddridge's handwriting.
- Various notes of sermons in his handwriting.
- Chair, table and mirror used by him in the chapel vestry.
- His black skull-cap.
- The *Northampton Mercury*, containing an account of his death.
- A quarto volume containing letters written to Doddridge by Count Zinzendorf and others.
- † The cover or "table-carpet" of the communion table, which was in actual use when Colonel Gardiner received the sacrament for the last time at the hands of Dr. Doddridge.
- A jacket of white serge, with white satin front and cuffs; worn by Dr. Doddridge on the day of his death, 26th October, 1751.
- Two other coats worn by Dr. Doddridge.
- A pair of large plated shoe buckles worn by him.
- A jewel cabinet, covered with tapestry representing scenes from the book of Esther; it was inherited by Doddridge, and was in his house at Northampton when he died.
- A tapestry representing "The Judgement of Paris"—figures in 17th century costume. It was inherited by Doddridge, and was treasured by his descendants as an heirloom until, with other relics, it was transferred to the custody of the church.

- A pair of high-heeled shoes, embroidered in silk, worn by Mrs. Doddridge at Court.
- Portions of a ball dress worn by Mrs. Doddridge and believed to have been presented to her by Frederick, Prince of Wales.
- A brass lantern, capable of being folded flat. It is said to have been used by Mrs. Doddridge on her way to and from the chapel after Dr. Doddridge's death.
- Copy of the first edition of Doddridge's hymns; presented by the transcriber, Job Orton, to Doddridge's widow. Orton has headed the hymns with the dates when they were written, and in some cases the events by which they were suggested. Bound up with the book are 28 of the hymns in Orton's handwriting.
- Probate of the will of Dr. Doddridge.
- Probate of the will of Mrs. Doddridge, dated 1771, and witnessed by the Rev. Caleb Ashworth.
- Two Bibles, Sir John Doddridge's *History of the Principality of Wales &c.*, an early seventeenth coat, two pairs of richly-embroidered gloves, and several pieces of fine needlework and old lace. All these were held as heirlooms in the family; though there is no certain evidence (whatever the probability) that they were actually used by Dr. and Mrs. Doddridge.

[All the foregoing from † downward were sold to the church in 1904 by the Rev. Frank Doddridge Humphreys of Honiton; now residing at Handsworth, Sheffield.]

II.—Doddridge Relics and MS. at New College.

(a.) *Miscellaneous Relics and Memorials.*

- Portrait (in Council Room) ascribed to John Russel, R.A., by whom it is said to have been painted posthumously from three original portraits. It cannot have been painted from life as Russel's age was only 15 when Doddridge died.
- Portrait bust (in library). Artist unknown.
- Portrait in alto-rilevo, modelled from family portraits by John Doddridge Humphreys, a grandson of Dr. Doddridge.
- Doddridge's study table, his walking-stick, and a quadrant *supposed* to have belonged to him.
- Dr. Watts's catechisms, presented by himself to Dr. Doddridge.
- The Assembly's Catechism Explained*, by D.S. (David Some); presented to Doddridge by the author. With notes in Dr. Doddridge's shorthand.
- Doddridge's New Testament, interleaved, with many of his notes in shorthand.
- A leaf of his Bible, with notes in shorthand on the margin.
- Doddridge's ordination certificate, with ten signatures, dated 19th March, 1729/30. Mounted in the first volume of his *Family Expositor*.

(b.) MSS. chiefly or wholly in Doddridge's handwriting.

Doddridge's draft of a letter to the church at St. Alban's, requesting admission to its fellowship. Holograph, unsigned; with two lines of shorthand at the foot.

Shorthand volume in Doddridge's hand: *Notes on the Harmony of the Evangelists, Part I. From the beginning to the cure of the Paralytick.*

Bundle of shorthand notes on the Epistles to the Romans and I. Corinthians.

Shorthand MS.: *Theorems of Archimedes and Rules of Syllogism Demonstrated*; and *The General and Speedy Rules of Syllogism Demonstrated from the first Principles.*

A case containing the following, all in shorthand, viz.:—(1) Lowman's *Civil Government of the Hebrews*, abridged; (2) *Lectures on Anatomy*; (3) Mr. Hanbury's MSS., *Conic Sections*; (4) Addenda to *Conic Sections* from Mr. Hanbury's MSS., altered; (5) Mr. Eames' *Conic Sections: Of the Ellipse*, and appendix of several carefully drawn diagrams; (6) a few rough notes on plain trigonometry.

Seven cases full of shorthand notes on sermons.

Shorthand MS.—Rough draft of the *Family Expositor* on the Epistle to the Romans.

Shorthand MS.—Preparatory notes for expositions at family prayer.

MS. exposition of the system of shorthand used by Doddridge.

MS. of *The Family Expositor* in shorthand.

MS. revised translation of the minor prophets, in shorthand; completed by Doddridge just before his last illness.

Two MS. volumes of notes on the Hebrew text of Ezekiel, Daniel, and the minor prophets. The chapters and verses are indicated by a system of spacing, and the notes entered from time to time in shorthand.

Two similar MS. volumes of notes on the Greek text of the Epistles and Revelation; shorthand on the same plan.

Shorthand volume—*Critical Lectures on the Book of Acts.*

Shorthand volume—*Critical Notes on the Epistles, Rom. to ii. Cor.*

Bundle of shorthand notes on the Greek text of the New Testament: Romans to Hebrews.

Volume of above 40 autograph letters of Doddridge to his friend Dr. Clark of St. Alban's, 1723-50.

Bundle of original MS. sermons.

MS. volume of 100 sermons.

Commonplace book, shorthand: Hints on Books Read.

Commonplace book, shorthand: Theological References, contracted.

Commonplace book, shorthand: Theological extracts from numerous writers.

Commonplace book, shorthand: Lengthy extracts on various topics.

Private diary in three volumes : 4th September, 1738, to 6th November, 1743.

Records of housekeeping expenses, 3 volumes : 1732-5, 1735-9, 1740 fig.

Two other cash books : 1739-41 and 1743-50.

MS. book, partly in shorthand : list of widows and orphans needing relief.

MS. preface for the second part of Watts's *Improvement of the Mind*, to be published by Doddridge from the original MS.

Constitution, Orders, and Rules relating to the Academy at Northampton, agreed upon by the Tutors and the several members of it in Decr 1743. 16 pp., 4to. Doddridge's holograph, with 64 autograph signatures.

Latin MS. *Theologiae sive Pneumatologiae et Ethicae, Pars ii.* 2 vols.

Shorthand MS. : Miscellaneous lectures on various subjects, viz. :—

(1) *The Initiation of the Ancients* ; (2) *Antiquity of the Hebrew Points* ; (3) *Conduct of Ancient Philosophers* ; (4) *Date of the 1st Epistle to Timothy, and its Inspiration* ; (5) *Confucius's Notion of a Deity* ; (6) *Celsus's Testimony to the New Testament.*

Lectures in Pneumatology &c. Shorthand.

An Abstract of our Pneumatological References. Shorthand.

An Abstract of the References in our Lectures on Logick. Shorthand.

Lectures on Civil Government. Shorthand.

Lectures on Jewish Antiquities. Large 4to. vol., shorthand. (Used by Dr. Caleb Ashworth.)

Treatise on Arithmetic and Algebra. MS. in longhand.

Lectures on Anatomy, and on Logic. Shorthand.

Shorthand MS., *Eames's Anatomy, Contracted.*

MS., *Mr. Eames's Conic Sections.*

MS. containing algebraic problems.

Plan of the meeting-house (roughly drawn with pencil) ; and account of the seats. (The figures on the plan are Doddridge's ; the "account" is in shorthand.)

[It is possible that some of the foregoing MSS. may not be wholly in the handwriting of Doddridge, as it is not easy to distinguish the shorthand of different writers.]

(c.) *Of the following, which are among the Doddridge MSS., the handwriting is uncertain :—*

Four volumes of shorthand notes of sermons by various preachers. Quarto vol. in shorthand : *Lectures on the Evidences and Doctrines of the Gospels, given by P. Doddridge, D.D., 1742.*

Shorthand MS., *Abridgment of References in Doddridge's Lectures.*

A Treatise on Arithmetic and Algebra, larger than the one mentioned above. (I do not think the hand is Doddridge's.—T.G.C.)

Bundle of miscellaneous shorthand notes of sermons, lectures, etc., not arranged.

(d.) *The following are certainly not in the handwriting of Doddridge.*

Hymns (84) on several occasions, composed chiefly for the use of congregations under the author's care. Transcribed from the author's own copy, 1742. (Shorthand MS. presented to the Coward Trustees by Mrs. Joshua Wilson.)

Shorthand MS. *Abridgement of References in Doddridge's Lectures.*

Shorthand notes on lectures on anatomy. Shorthand remarks are *added* in Doddridge's hand.

MS. notes of sermons by Doddridge ; probably taken by one of his students.

Three volumes of shorthand notes of sermons by Doddridge and others.

Two volumes of *Contractions of Pneumatological References* in Doddridge's lectures. Written in shorthand by Caleb Ashworth.

Several bundles of replies to questions on religious topics, which seem to have been propounded by Doddridge to his students or hearers. All are endorsed in his handwriting. Some are written in full, some in shorthand ; and some bear names which afterwards became famous. They might probably repay examination.

A letter to Doddridge, in French, commending the *Family Expositor*. Signed P. J. Courtonne, Amsterdam, 1748.

A confession of faith in shorthand ; memorandum attached, " I am coming to the conclusion that this is Steffe's Confession, not Doddridge's." With it is a confession, partly written in full and partly in shorthand, signed " Tho. Steffe."

Three small volumes, uniformly bound, of which I. and II. bear Doddridge's signature :—

I. (partly in the handwriting of J. Jennings, Doddridge's tutor at Kibworth) contains : (1) *Cursus Academicus* ; (2) *Libri ab Academicis emendiant transcribendi* ; (3) *Exercitia aliqua primi Anni* ; (4) *Questiones Logicae, et innuenda objectionum* ; (5) *Prologi, Epilogi, et Interludia* (eight in English : one of them also in Latin) ; (6) *Dramata* (brief summaries of 14 comedies).

II. *Prolegomena Critica, Sive Apparatus ad S. Scripturae Lectionem ; in usum Juventulis Academicæ* : by Samuel Jones, interlined here and there with notes in Doddridge's hand.

III.—*Arithmetica Universalis et Numeralis*. (Looks like Jennings's hand.)

Mosheim's preface to the German edition of Doddridge's *Rise and Progress*, Hanover, 1750. " Attempted in English by P.H.O."

Engraved tract ; Rich's shorthand, improved by Dr. Doddridge : edited by Rev. S. Wood, B.A. London, 1830, price 2/6.

- Narrative, by Rev. S. Clark, of a remarkable dream of Doddridge's.
 Copy of the will of John Doddridge, of Bromridge, Devon; dated 20th January, 1658; proved by Judith Doddridge, widow and executrix, 20th July "1769"—error for 1679 or 1669.
 Letter of Philip Doddridge, jun., to his mother. Tewkesbury, 12th May, 1764.
 Poem on the death of Doddridge by H. Moore; with autograph of Mercy Doddridge, jun. "Gift of the Author."
 The Northampton yearly bill of mortality for 1770, with a hymn by Doddridge.

(e.) *The Doddridge Correspondence.*

- Nine large folio volumes, in which are arranged above 1600 letters and documents relating to the Doddridge family, from 1728 to the death of Celia Ann Doddridge (the doctor's youngest daughter) in 1811. They include:—
- 125 letters of Dr. Doddridge addressed to his wife.
 - 11 letters of Dr. Doddridge addressed to his daughter.
 - 2 letters of Dr. Doddridge addressed to other persons.
 - 6 letters written to Dr. Doddridge by his wife.
 - 151 letters written to Dr. Doddridge by various persons.
 - Letter of Mrs. Doddridge to her children on the death of Dr. Doddridge.
 - The call addressed to Dr. Doddridge from the church at Northampton, February, 1728.
 - Documents relating to the will of Thomas Ekins (15th September, 1744) of which Dr. Doddridge was executor.
 - List of books purchased by and presented to Dr. Doddridge on 19th September, 1749.
 - Proposal for printing the *Family Expositor*, with subscription signed "Caleb Ashworth."

III.—Doddridge MSS., etc., in the Congregational Library.

- Lectures in Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity.* 5 volumes in Doddridge's own shorthand MS.
 Memorandum book, containing accounts of receipts and payments of money, students' indebtedness, etc., 1731-32; above 120 pp. in Doddridge's handwriting.
 Doddridge's *Algebra*, written out by Rev. Jas. Follett.
 Doddridge's lectures on Pneumatology, etc., written down in shorthand by one of his students, probably D. Baker, of Kettering, whose name is on the fly leaf.
 David Brainerd's *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos*, with Doddridge's autograph on title page.

Printed sermon on Genesis v. 24, with "Mrs. Doddridge" on the title page, in Dr. Doddridge's handwriting. Some other words have been obliterated.

Funeral sermon for Col. Gardiner, 2nd edition; with "Mrs. Doddridge" on the title page in Dr. Doddridge's handwriting.

Sermon, 25th April, 1749; bearing Mrs. Doddridge's autograph.

Letter of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, to Dr. Doddridge, undated.

The arms of the family of Doddridge, painted on canvas.

IV.—Letters in the possession of the Congregational Church at Market Harborough.

1. From Dr. Doddridge to the deacons at Market Harborough, in reference to an invitation given to the Rev. Job Orton.
2. From the Rev. S. Wood of Rendham to Dr. Doddridge, explaining why he declines an invitation from Market Harborough.

V.—Doddridge Relics and MSS. in Private Custody.

(1) *Rev. F. D. Humphreys retains—*

A Family Bible, dated 1689, in which a register of the family has been carefully kept until the present time.

The old armorial bearings which formerly hung in Dr. Doddridge's study.

A watch—imperfect.

A flint and steel.

(2) *Rev. Dr. Chapman, of Western College, Bristol, possesses—*

An eight-day clock with square brass dial, made in Northampton, and presented to Dr. Doddridge by the congregation at Northampton on the occasion of his marriage, 1736. Dr. Chapman says: "The case is a good specimen of the early enamel work introduced into this country about that time. The clock keeps time most accurately."

(3) *The Rev. G. Eyre Evans, M.A., of Aberystwith, has—*

A volume containing "Two Funeral Sermons: one on Dr. Samuel Benion, and the other on the Reverend Mr. Francis Tallents, Minister of the Gospel in Shrewsbury. London, 1709." On the title is in a neat boyish handwriting, "P. Doddridge"; and on the front fly leaf, "*Ex dono Clarissima Sororis ejus, 1717,*" and below "*E libris Ph. Doddridge.*"

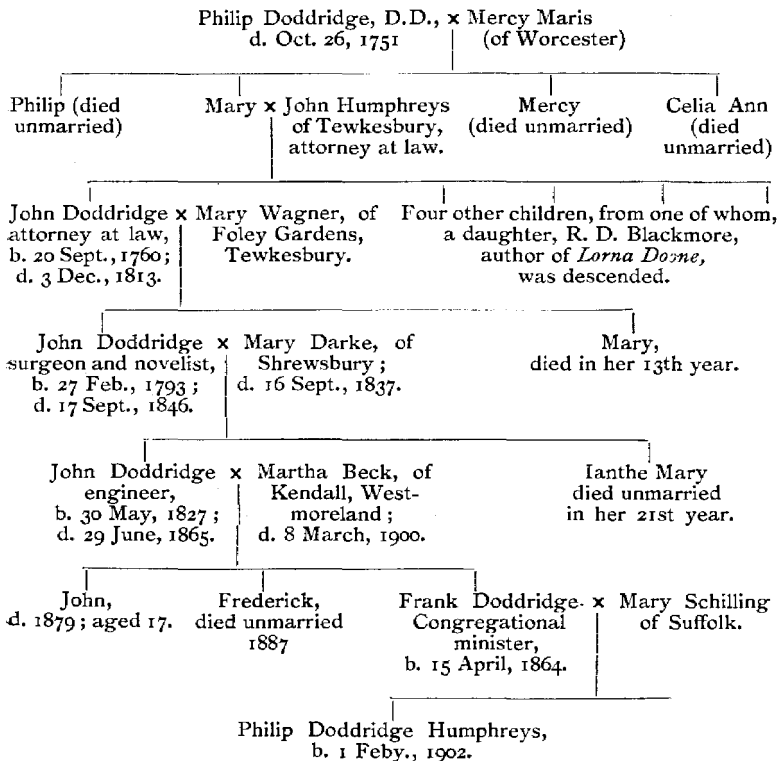
The following Doddridge relics are missing; any clue to their whereabouts is desirable.

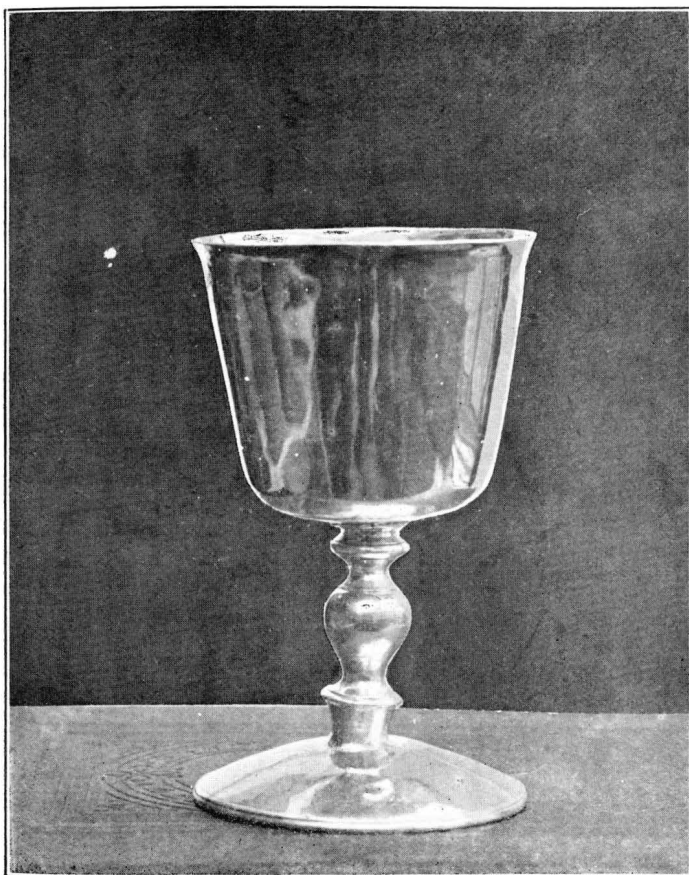
- I. A set of family portraits, including Sir John Doddridge, Dr. Ph. Doddridge, and others. They were sold by J. D. Humphreys to Sir Charles Reed in 1858; enquiries respecting them since the death of the latter have yielded no result.

Memorials of Dr. Doddridge

2. Luther's German Bible in two volumes, and a leather belt with romantic associations, once the property of Dr. Doddridge's maternal grandfather, John Bauman. These were in the possession of the same J. D. Humphreys in 1850; but it is not known what became of them.
3. A very dilapidated trunk, leather, bound with iron clamps and studded with nails forming the device "P.D. 1701." It was sold in Honiton in 1905.

The Rev. Frank Doddridge Humphreys, of Handsworth, Sheffield, has kindly furnished the following genealogical record, taken from a Bible which has been in the possession of the family above 200 years.





THE FLAVEL CUP.

Historic Communion Plate

1.—The Flavel Cup

A PHOTOGRAPH of this interesting relic—the property of Prince's Street church, Devonport—has been kindly furnished by the Rev. E. W. Bickley, together with an account of it written by a former pastor:—

The cup differs from the rest of the communion vessels in being shorter, broader, and of simpler workmanship. It has characters engraved on it, thus :

1663
. D .
. I . F .

The cup was given to Prince's St. church by the Rev. Andrew Kinsman [*the first pastor, 1763-1793*]. There is no doubt it was the property of the Rev. John Flavel of Dartmouth. Mr. Flavel was one of the ejected ministers. This cup was used by him and his congregation when observing the Lord's supper in the dark days of persecution when they worshipped in the roads, in barns, in houses secluded, and in the old Independent chapel at Dartmouth. These facts were not known to many until a short time ago, when an old member happened to be with us, made enquiries about the cup, and gave us the above information.

Signed THOMAS HOOPER.

August 2, 1886.

2.—The Pilgrim Church Beakers, etc.

Of this interesting group a photograph has been contributed by the deacons of the Pilgrim Fathers'

church, Southwark. The most important part consists of the four silver beakers, which were given to the church by a former pastor, the Rev. Jonathan Owen, in 1694. Their special importance is that they furnish a material link in the chain of evidence which connects the present church with that ministered to by Wadsworth in 1669 (before the Indulgence); and so *presumably* with the Paedobaptist remnant of the church gathered by H. Jacob in 1616.

There are two sets of patens, four of each. The deeper ones are of pewter, and were used by the church when it met in Deadman's Place (1690-1788); the others are plated and belong to the earlier years of the last century.

The candlesticks are traditionally reported to have stood in the table of the meeting-house in Union Street (1788-1820), when candles were the only means of illumination. The snuffers were their indispensable attendants.

The flagon is modern, and of no historic interest.



COMMUNION PLATE, ETC., AT THE "CHURCH OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS," SOUTHWARK.

Hanover Chapel, Peckham

(Compiled at the request and with the assistance of the deacons)

THE early history of this congregation is somewhat obscure ; but there seems no reason for rejecting the tradition that it originated in 1657, in connection with the labours of the Rev. JOHN MAYNARD.

On 11th August, 1643, the vicarage of Camberwell was sequestered from Peter Danson (who figures discredibly in White's *Century of Scandalous Priests*) to Alexander Gregory. On 26th May, 1646, Mr. Gregory was "certified as fit for Lambeth"; but does not seem to have been removed thither, as afterwards we find a payment of £75 from the sale of bishops' lands made to his use as minister at Cirencester. The date of his removal is not given; but John Maynard succeeded him at Camberwell, in the same year 1646.

About a year later Surrey was divided into six "classical presbyteries," having their centres at (1) Godalming, (2) Dorking, (3) Guildford, (4) Kingston, (5) Croydon, (6) Reigate. The "Croydon classis" comprehended most of what is now accounted metropolitan Surrey; the presbytery consisted of five ministers and ten lay elders, among whom were the Rev. John Maynard and Messrs. Johnson and Webster of "Camberwell."

Mr. Maynard was M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford; he sat in the Westminster Assembly, preached twice (in 1644 and 1646) before the Long Parliament, and in 1654 was an assistant to the Commissioners for removing Scandalous Ministers. His puritanism seems to have made him unpopular with some of his parishioners, who "petitioned the committee for displacing improper ministers to remove him, he having a living in Sussex, but they did not succeed."¹

In a pamphlet written in 1651 by Richard Culmer of Harbledown, entitled *The Minister's Hue and Cry*, there is a story how certain farmers in Camberwell were accustomed to defraud the minister of his tithes. "At last," they say, "he was glad to pack away from us, after an agreement made for his tythe by which we

¹ Manning's *History of Surrey*, from a MS. in the Bodleian.

got above a hundred pounds. We wearied out the Roundhead, and had our wills of him, for all his Tythe-laws and Committee-orders." The farmers are mentioned under fictitious names, and the name of "the Roundhead" is not given; but there can be little doubt that Maynard is intended: local tradition speaks of him as having been "forced by religious intolerance to resign the vicarage of Camberwell," and his successor seems to have been appointed in 1653. He thereafter took up his abode in what is now called Meeting-house Lane, and is said to have preached for some time in his own house; and afterwards, in 1657, to have erected the old meeting-house which gave name to the thoroughfare. Later, but when we are not informed, he seems to have left Peckham.

The "living in Sussex" which Mr. Maynard held together with his vicarage of Camberwell, was Mayfield, about 8 miles south of Tunbridge Wells. To this he was appointed in 1625 and was ejected in 1662. Necessarily this rural cure was served by a succession of assistants, the last of whom was ejected with him. Notwithstanding his frequent non-residence he seems to have been highly esteemed by his Mayfield parishioners, amongst whom he died 7th June, 1665, and was buried in Mayfield churchyard. On his tombstone is a Latin inscription, in which he is said to have been "the Light and Ornament of the parish for 40 years." Besides the sermons already mentioned he was the author of three treatises, which were only published after his death:—*The Beauty and Crown of Creation*, 1668; *A Memento for Young and Old*, 1669; and *The Law of God Ratified by the Gospel of Christ*, 1674.

There is also much uncertainty as to the few years immediately following Mr. Maynard's death. Local tradition affirms that he was followed by the Rev. BARTHOLOMEW ASHWOOD, the ejected rector of Axminster, Devon. He is said to have come to Peckham in 1664, and preached there for some years. But this tradition cannot be accepted as wholly correct. Ashwood in 1660, while still rector of Axminster, organized among his parishioners a Congregational church which subsists to this day. The records in its ancient church book were published in 1874 under the title of *Ecclesiastica; or a Book of Remembrance*. From this we learn that, in spite of ejection from his rectory, in spite of persecution and imprisonment, Ashwood retained his pastorate at Axminster until his death in 1678.² The church often had to meet in woods and fields and secret places, and persecution often drove the pastor from home; so that there is nothing unlikely in the supposition that he visited Peckham and preached there in 1664, and on subsequent occasions. But there is nothing of this in the

² The mistake is no doubt due to the compiler of a biographical dictionary, quoted in Manning's *History of Surrey*, who says that Ashwood "lived the remainder of his life" at Peckham, "dying a little before the Revolution." The writer evidently confounded Bartholomew, the father, with John, the son.

Ecclesiastica, nor was it known to Calamy or the editor of the *Nonconformists' Memorial*; and any continuous ministry at Peckham is out of the question. It is a noteworthy fact that in Sheldon's *Return of Conventicles*, 1669, there is no mention either of Peckham or of Camberwell; nor was any meeting-place in the parish licensed under the Indulgence in 1672. It would therefore seem that Maynard's meeting-house was for the time disused, and that whatever Nonconformist worship was carried on in Peckham was in secret, and probably intermittent. Whether Maynard had organized a regular society, and if so whether through these troublous times it maintained corporate continuity, are matters about which we have no information. However, we may accept it as a fact that Bartholomew Ashwood had *some*—though it is uncertain *what*—connection with Peckham Nonconformity between 1664 and 1678. Of his writings, published after his death, we have *The Heavenly Trade, or the Best Merchandizing*, 1679, and *The Best Treasure—a Discourse on Ephes. iii. 8*, 1681.

The next minister mentioned is the Rev. JOSEPH OSBORNE. He had been appointed to the vicarage of Benenden, Kent, in place of one who had been removed for incompetence. He was highly appreciated there, and after trial by Cromwell's commissioners his appointment was confirmed. At the Restoration he was strongly urged to conform; and the patron of the living, a hearty Royalist, refused to present anyone in his place. But Osborne replied that "faith and a good conscience would stand him in more stead than a hundred livings." After his ejection in 1662 he still persisted in his Nonconformity, though the Dean of Rochester offered him a better benefice than that of which he had been deprived. After several removals he took up his abode at Brighton, where on 8th May, 1672, he was licensed under the Indulgence as an Independent preacher, and ministered to a settled congregation for nine years. In 1681, being again harassed for his Nonconformity, he came to Peckham, where he continued to preach till 1689. He then removed to Ashford in Kent, and afterwards held pastorates at Tenterden and Barsted. From the latter he retired on account of infirmity, and ended his days at Staplehurst on 28th December, 1714, at the age of 85.

All the above named were of the noble band of confessors who sacrificed home, status, and means of livelihood because they could not declare their "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by" the Book of Common Prayer; which had been revised for the purpose, not of removing passages offensive to scrupulous consciences but, of casting out Puritanism from the Church, and if possible from the soil, of England. The succeeding ministers were for the most part Dissenters by birth, training and conviction.

The first of their number was Rev. JOHN BEAUMONT. He had been a student in Morton's academy, Newington Green; and was privately ordained with several other ministers in London in 1689. He came to Peckham soon after and remained till 1698, when he removed to Battersea. Thence he was called to Deptford, where he ministered for 32 years, and died in 1736. One tradition is that the Peckham church was first organized by "Beaumont of Deptford"; but, although there seems to be no definite record of the date, we may be pretty sure that its formal organization took place years before his time.

His successor was the Rev. JOHN ASHWOOD, son of Bartholomew Ashwood of Axminster. He was born in the same year in which the meeting-house was built; and studied under Theophilus Gale in his academy on Newington Green. For some time he was a schoolmaster at Axminster and Chard. In consequence of persecution he purposed, about 1683, to emigrate to Carolina, but was hindered by sickness. His brief memoir, written by Thomas Reynolds, refers to some great deliverance which he experienced, the particulars of which we are not told, but the facts are believed to be as follows:—Several members of the Axminster church were concerned in the ill judged enterprise of Monmouth in 1685, and one of them, at least, was slain in battle. Ashwood was charged with treason for sheltering some of the fugitives, and was sentenced to death by Jeffreys; but "was saved from execution by the influence usually employed in such cases at the needy Court." Whatever be the truth of this story he certainly suffered imprisonment in connection with the affair. After his release he became pastor of a church in Exeter. Thence, about 1695, he came to London, and for two or three years he preached in Hoxton Square and Spitalfields. In 1698 he undertook the pastorate at Peckham, where he died 22nd September, 1706, aged 49. He does not appear to have published anything in his lifetime, but to his memoir, printed in 1707, are appended two discourses under the title of *A Minister's Legacy to Fatherless Children*.

From the death of John Ashwood there is a chasm in the history which we are unable satisfactorily to fill. But from Dr. John Evans's list of meeting-houses in England, compiled about 1717 or soon after, we learn that the pastorate had been held by one GEORGE DAVY, who in 1716 removed to Prince's Street, Upper Moorfields. Whence he came to Peckham, and when, we have no information.

He was followed by the celebrated Dr. SAMUEL CHANDLER, who was the son of a minister at Hungerford (afterwards at Bath). He studied first under John Moore at Bridgwater, and afterwards under Samuel Jones at Gloucester, leaving the latter academy about the time when it was removed to Tewkesbury. There he formed lifelong friendships with two fellow-students named

Butler and Secker, both of whom conformed to the Established Church, and became, one, Bishop of Durham, and author of the immortal *Analogy of Religion*, and the other, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Chandler spent some time at the University of Leyden ; and in 1716 was chosen pastor of the church in Peckham. The next year, the lease of the old meeting-house having expired, the congregation removed to a new edifice on the site now occupied by Hanover Chapel. Three years later Mr. Chandler suffered a serious misfortune ; it was the year of the notorious South Sea Bubble, in which he was induced to venture the whole of his wife's property, and every penny of it was lost. He thereupon endeavoured to supplement his rather meagre stipend by opening a bookseller's shop in the Poultry ; which business he carried on, conjointly with his pastorate, for several years. During this time he was associated with Dr. Nathaniel Lardner in a weekly lecture at the Old Jewry meeting-house on the evidences of natural and revealed religion. He afterwards delivered a second course on the same subject, which he printed in 1725 under the title *A Vindication of the Christian Religion, in two parts*. He presented a copy to Archbishop Wake ; who, not suspecting that the author was other than a bookseller, wrote to him as follows :—"I cannot but own myself surprised to see so much good learning and just reasoning in a person of your profession ; and do think it a pity you should not spend your time in writing books rather than in selling them."

The next year, 1726, he was invited to become assistant to the Rev. Thomas Leavesley, the minister at Old Jewry ; and for about three years he was accustomed to preach there on one part of the day, and at Peckham the other part. At length, being elected co-pastor with Mr. Leavesley, he finally discontinued his ministrations at Peckham in 1729.

It was not till after Chandler had left Peckham that he became prominent in connection with the efforts which were made for the repeal of the Test Act. He it was who, after the failure of those efforts in 1738, headed a deputation to Walpole on the subject, and fairly cornered that shiftiest of Whig politicians. Reminding him of his frequent assurances of good will, qualified by the evasive addition that "the time had not yet arrived," he asked him bluntly "when that time would come," and received for once the straightforward answer "Never."

Chandler was a man of exceptional learning, and is said to have been able to write in Greek as readily as in English. Of his very numerous works the following (besides his *Vindication of the Christian Religion*), were issued while he was at Peckham :—*Paraphrase and Critical Commentary on the Prophet Joel*, 1725 ;

Reflections on the Conduct of Modern Deists, 1727; *Discourse on the Nature and Use of Miracles, 1727*; *Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, 1728*; and some sermons. It is not necessary to notice at length his later works, some of which were against the Deists, some against the Church of Rome, some in defence of religious liberty, and some dealing with theological controversies; but his *Life of David, Paraphrases on the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians and Thessalonians, History of the Inquisition, and History of Persecution*, deserve special mention. His theology was evangelical, though not Calvinistic; but in his printed sermons there is said to be a lack of warmth, of doctrinal clearness, and of practical application. His learning and literary abilities were appreciated by the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, each of which conferred on him a diploma of D.D.; he was also a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries. He died 8th May, 1766, in the 73rd year of his age, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

The Rev. THOMAS HADFIELD, M.D., who had been educated for the medical profession, followed Dr. Chandler. According to W. Wilson's MS. in Williams's Library he came from Midhurst. He was ordained, seemingly as co-pastor, on 19th October, 1726; the officiating ministers being the Revs. John Beaumont, Jos. Hill, and Thos. Reynolds. His *Confession of Faith* was printed; it is evangelical and trinitarian. In 1729 he became sole pastor, and exercised a useful ministry until his death, at the age of 46, on 21st February, 1741. Dr. Chandler preached his funeral sermon.

During Dr. Hadfield's pastorate, in 1737, a Mr. W. Tomkins endowed the church with £375 South Sea annuities, on condition that sermons should be preached yearly on Christmas Day, Easter Monday, Whitsunday, and the 1st day of August—the latter probably in commemoration of the death of Queen Anne, which frustrated the last Jacobite plot against religious freedom. (Other small endowments were given, by Mrs. Plunkett in 1762, Mr. Shanks in 1795, and Mrs. Hyardahl in 1831; but the capital value of the whole falls below £1,200.)

The next pastor was the Rev. JOHN MILNER, D.D. He is believed to have been a Somerset man, and was educated under the Rev. John Moore at Bridgwater. His wife was a daughter of one of the Taunton maids who in 1685, under the direction of the patriotic schoolmistress, Miss Blake, embroidered the Monmouth banner. Fortunately for her, she was removed from the school before the actual presentation. The location of Dr. Milner's first pastorate is not known, but in 1722 he ministered to a congregation at Yeovil, where he also kept a grammar school. While there he published three educational works which were much esteemed in their day; a Latin grammar in 1729, a Greek grammar in 1732, and a treatise on rhetoric in 1736. He took part in the ordination

of Dr. Amory at Taunton in 1731, and in an ordination at Bridport in 1739. The sermon he preached on the latter occasion was expanded into a treatise having the title *Religious Liberty Asserted*. He accepted an invitation to Peckham on the death of Dr. Hadfield in 1741, and set up a boarding school in Meeting-house Lane. As a teacher of youth he had a high reputation. Towards the close of his life he had as an usher for a few months that erratic genius Oliver Goldsmith, who at his table first met Griffith the publisher, a meeting which had important literary results. Another of his ushers was Dr. Hawkesworth, a literary man of note in his day, now best remembered as the author of the stately morning hymn "In sleep's serene oblivion laid."

Dr. Milner was a popular preacher, and gathered around him as hearers many persons of social standing, culture, and influence. Among them was Chief Justice Copeland, who contributed liberally towards the necessary enlargement of the meeting-house. He was the author of a volume on *The Nature, Obligation, and Benefit of Public Worship*, 1748; *Instructions for Youth, in six Sermons*, 1751; *The Honour and Happiness of the Poor—Three Sermons, with Prayers and Hymns*, and a number of fast, thanksgiving, ordination, and funeral sermons. One of these was on the battle of Culloden, and one on the death of Dr. Watts, and one on the Lisbon earthquake. His preaching was thoroughly evangelical, so far as regards the mediatorial work of Christ; but vague as to His Person, suggesting an inclination towards the then popular Arianism. He died 24th June, 1757, aged 69, and was buried in Camberwell churchyard.

He was succeeded in August, 1758, by the Rev. SAMUEL BILLINGSLEY, son of Richard Billingsley, pastor at Whitchurch, Hants., and grandson of Nicholas Billingsley, who had been ejected by the Act of Uniformity from Weobly, Herefordshire. He was ordained at Marlborough in 1725; removed thence to Ashwick, Somerset, where he continued 18 years; thence to Bradford-on-Avon, where he ministered for 10 years. At Peckham he was greatly beloved for his wisdom, zeal and kindness of heart. In 1770 he retired to Bath, where he ended his days.

On his retirement there were two candidates for the vacant pulpit; one, the son of the retired pastor, and the other the Rev. RICHARD JONES, late minister of the church in Crosby Hall, which had been disbanded the previous year on the expiry of the lease. The choice of the church fell on the latter. Mr. Jones had been a pupil of Dr. Doddridge, and before going to Crosby Hall was for some time pastor of a Presbyterian church at Cambridge. He entered on his ministry at Peckham on 13th February, 1770. He is described as a ripe scholar, a fine preacher, and a saintly man; yet his pastorate was, on the whole, a failure. He is understood to have been an Arian; certainly his views as to the Person of

Christ were not such as are usually deemed orthodox ; while on the inspiration of Scripture and the future state he held opinions in advance of his age, though probably not such as would be severely criticised in the present day. During his pastorate the freehold of the building was secured, the lease granted in 1717 having been only for 60 years ; and the property was put in trust. But the congregation steadily dwindled, and towards the end the members could be counted on one's fingers. Mr. Jones died on 30th September, 1800, in the 73rd year of his age. His chief publication was *Friendship with God ; an Essay*, 1772.

A new era began with the new century. Shortly after the death of Mr. Jones the church officers, failing to obtain a supply elsewhere, sent to Homerton College for a student. He came—a lad in his 19th year ; and, as he afterwards wrote, “ well knowing the kind of doctrine which had obtained during thirty years, he resolved to avail himself of the only opportunity that might be afforded to assert the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,” from Heb. i. 10-12. Contrary to his expectation, this visit was the commencement of a ministry that lasted 53 years, and was one of the most remarkable London pastorates of the century.

WILLIAM BENGs COLLYER was the son of a builder at Blackheath, and was born on 14th April, 1782. As a boy he was noted for his fluency of speech ; at the age of 13 he is reported to have addressed a cottage meeting, and about that time was permitted to attend classes at Homerton College. At the age of 16 he was admitted a theological student, his tutors being the Revs. J. Fell, S. Berry, and for a short time J. Pye-Smith. His visit to Peckham was followed by requests to supply again and again ; the congregation rapidly increased, and an invitation to the pastorate speedily followed. Mr. Collyer was ordained on 17th November, 1801, the officiating ministers being Drs. Fisher, Hunter, Winter, Messrs. Berry, Brooksbank, S. Morrell, and Urwick. The young pastor's confession of faith was uncompromisingly evangelical.

At the first communion service, January, 1802, five new members were added to the ten who previously formed the entire fellowship. Improvement was rapid : a public prayer meeting was at once instituted, soon followed by a Wednesday evening lecture ; and in a year's time the congregation numbered 500. A Sunday school was commenced in 1804, and two years later a day school on the Lancastrian plan. About this time Mr. Collyer preached a course of sermons on “ Scripture Facts,” which excited much interest. They were published in 1807, with a dedication to Lord Chancellor Erskine ; and no less than three bishops' names appear on the list of subscribers. This was the first of a series of seven volumes, which together constituted a valuable course of Christian apologetics.



PECKHAM MEETING-HOUSE : 1717-1817.

In 1808 an anonymous writer published a malicious book entitled *Hints on the Nature and Effects of Evangelical Preaching; by a Barrister*, which was designed to prepare the way for the attempt, made later in Lord Sidmouth's notorious bill, to restrict religious liberty. Mr. Collyer promptly replied in *An Appeal to the Legislature and the Public in Answer to the Hints of a Barrister &c*; and thus rendered effective service in frustrating the conspiracy.

It was about this time that Mr. Collyer attracted the notice of some members of the royal family. The circumstances have never been clearly explained; but acquaintance grew into a warm personal friendship with the Dukes of Kent and Sussex, especially the former. It is a notable fact that these only of the sons of George III. were free from gross personal vices. In 1808 Mr. Collyer received from the University of Edinburgh a diploma of D.D., which is said to have come "through the hands of H.R.H. the Duke of Kent." It is a pretty safe conjecture that it was conferred at H.R.H.'s suggestion: the bestowal of such a degree, however well deserved, on a young man of 26 is so unusual as to invite some explanation. Dr. Collyer afterwards received the degree of LL.D., and was admitted a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In the same year, 1808, the chapel was enlarged by the erection of side galleries.

It may be convenient here to name the remaining volumes of Dr. Collyer's Apologetic series, with their dates and dedications:—

2. *Lectures on Scripture Prophecies*, 1809; dedicated to the Countess of Glencairn.
3. *Lectures on the Miracles*, 1st February, 1812; dedicated to H.R.H. the Duke of Kent. The author refers to "my intimate acquaintance with your character."
4. *Lectures on the Parables*, 1823; dedicated to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, with a reference to the Duke's interest in Biblical studies.
5. *Lectures on Scripture Doctrines*, 1817; dedicated to William Wilberforce, Esq.
6. *Lectures on Christian Duties*, 1819; dedicated by permission to the Duchess of Kent.
7. *Christianity Compared with Mohammedanism, Hindooism, Ancient Philosophy, and Modern Deism*, 1818.; dedicated to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, afterwards King of Belgium.

Contemporary critics took care to make known abroad the fact that Dr. Collyer was not wholly free from personal vanity. It was

scarcely surprising, in view of the many distinguished personages—including princes, a lord chancellor, and at least six bishops, whose names appear in his subscription lists. But his dedications are remarkably free from adulation, and have about them a manly tone which is in the highest degree honourable to all concerned. At a later time the volumes were issued in a consecutive series, in the order indicated by the figures prefixed above.

In 1812 Dr. Collyer published *Hymns, partly Collected and partly Original*, a book of unusual merit for its day. It contained nearly 1,000 hymns by at least 90 authors; of which above 100 were previously unpublished, nearly 60 being the compiler's own productions. Later publications contain about 100 more of Dr. Collyer's hymns, many of them for special occasions. Most are of a meditative character, and though often of singular beauty are not well suited for public worship. Only a few are found in modern hymn books, but two of them are destined long to survive; one, partly translated from the German, beginning "Great God, what do I see and hear?" is universally popular; the other, as embodying the Gospel call, has rarely been equalled. What can surpass the tender persuasiveness of a verse like this?—

"Return, O wanderer, return!
Thy Saviour bids thy spirit live;
Go to His bleeding feet, and learn
How freely Jesus can forgive!"

In January, 1814, with the full approval of the Peckham congregation, Dr. Collyer undertook the Sunday afternoon services at Salter's Hall, Cannon Street; an ancient Presbyterian church with a remarkable history, which originated before the Revolution. The ministers had long been Arian, if not Unitarian, and the congregation was reduced to a mere handful. Here, as at Peckham, Dr. Collyer's ministry led to both numerical and spiritual revival. In 1821 he was violently assailed by some of the Unitarian party in a pamphlet entitled *Some of Dr. Collyer's Errors Stated and Corrected*. In June, 1825, he found it necessary to restrict his labours to Peckham; after his withdrawal the Salter's Hall congregation again declined, and in a few years the place was closed.

In 1817 the Peckham meeting-house, which had been built just a hundred years before, gave place to the present more commodious structure. Hanover Chapel, as the new building was called in compliment to the royal family, was opened on 17th June, Dr. Collyer preaching in the morning, and the Rev. W. Jay of Bath in the evening. The Duke of Sussex was present at both services. The organ is understood to have been presented by the Duke of Kent. The two princes are said to have worshipped at "Hanover" on several occasions; and, as was to be expected under the circumstances, the place was frequently crowded by a

fashionable congregation. It must be remembered that at this time both Peckham and Camberwell were villages completely detached from the metropolis and from each other. Among the worshippers at Hanover Chapel at this time was the distinguished philanthropist, Thomas Thompson. He was born in 1785, and was an intimate friend of Dr. Collyer. In 1818 he established the first floating chapel for sailors; in the following year the Sailors' Society; and soon afterwards the first Sailors' Home. In 1819 he initiated the Home Missionary Society, of which for forty years he was treasurer. Though only moderately wealthy, for many years he sent a yearly anonymous donation of £100 to the London Missionary Society; and his gifts for the benefit of sailors totalled at least £3,000. While he attended Hanover he lived at Brixton, whence however he removed in 1829; and in his later years resided at Poundsford Park, Somerset, where he died in 1865. His daughter Jemima, known to the world as Mrs. Luke, was born in 1813; and to the end of a long life retained grateful memory of spiritual help from a sermon of Dr. Collyer's on Luke xxii. 61, which she heard when ten years old. About 1839 she had fully arranged to proceed as a missionary to India, but was prevented by failure of health. Two years later she wrote her ever popular children's hymn, "I think when I read that sweet story of old." In 1843 she married the Rev. Samuel Luke, and after a long widowhood died early in 1906.

Many stories are told of Dr. Collyer's intimacy with the royal dukes, which are probably apocryphal. There seems, however, to be some authority for the statement that, during a visit to Kensington Palace in 1819, the infant princess, afterwards Queen Victoria, was placed by her father on the doctor's knee; and that in somewhat later childhood she was an occasional playmate of his only daughter. It is said that he was once invited to enter Parliament; a safe seat for a pocket borough being offered him, but declined. And there can be little doubt that, if he would have conformed to the Established Church, the highest ecclesiastical rank would have been within his reach; but, notwithstanding courtly associations, he steadily adhered to the principles of evangelical Nonconformity. He was an Independent by conviction, but scarcely a Congregationalist; indeed he was somewhat inclined to be autocratic, and had no liking for church meetings. Up to this time the Peckham Dissenters had always been reputed Presbyterian, though since the Restoration there had been no Presbyterian Church courts, and the churches so called had always been practically Independent. The management, however, had been entirely in the hands of the church officers, and in Dr. Collyer's time affairs were directed by the trustees and a committee of management.

By the time Dr. Collyer attained the age of 50 his activities were

much restricted both by the state of his health and by his personal idiosyncrasy. An appreciative obituary notice in the *British Banner* says of him :—"Soft, gentle, refined almost to effeminacy . . . his popularity became a burden to him, consuming his time by endless and hurtful attentions which were paid him almost to the extent of persecution. . . . He became weary of popularity, and considered that God's work was best advanced by steady, regular, organised labour." He was a man of warm affections, kind and gentle to an extreme ; "his heart and purse ever open to the cry of the needy." In his later years he published little except a number of sermons. Two volumes, however, demand notice. When the Dissenters' Marriage Act was passed, in 1838, he put forth a *Manual* of liturgical forms for baptism, marriage, burial, etc., judiciously adapted from the Book of Common Prayer, and accompanied by about 90 hymns for sacramental and ceremonial occasions, and for the use of the sick. At a later time he was deeply interested in efforts for the conversion of the Jews ; and in 1848 published a little volume of *Hymns for Israel*, which illustrate at once the strength and weakness of his muse. Before this his increasing feebleness necessitated an assistant, who was found in the person of the Rev. H. J. GAMBLE, from Margate. He commenced his duties as co-pastor on 8th November, 1846 ; about which time the chapel was considerably enlarged. On entering upon the 50th year of his ministry Dr. Collyer preached a remarkable sermon from Acts xxvi. 22,23. In this he solemnly appealed to any who might have been present at his ordination, and to all who had at any time attended on his ministry, whether in one single instance he had swerved from the doctrine then laid down, and the profession then made. "I have learned no other way of salvation. . . . I have found no other refuge for my own soul ; but I am persuaded that the Saviour is all sufficient, that this hope will not make ashamed, that this foundation can never fail."

In March, 1850, the church presented to Dr. Collyer, as a mark of esteem and affection, a portrait of himself painted by H. W. Pickersgill, R.A. In October, 1852, Mr. Gamble removed to Clapton, much to the regret of the senior pastor ; who, however, though in great bodily weakness, took part in the recognition service. (It may be noted that Mr. Gamble died in 1887, at the age of 65.) His place at Peckham was supplied by the Rev. ROBERT WYE BETTS, from New College, who entered on the duties of assistant minister on 1st May, 1853. Mr. Betts bore striking testimony, in a funeral sermon, to the affectionate relations which subsisted between himself and his venerable senior. Dr. Collyer preached his last sermon on 11th December, 1853, and died on Sunday, 8th January, 1854, in his 72nd year. He was buried in Nunhead cemetery, where a conspicuous monument records his virtues.

Mr. Betts was a native of Portsea. While at college he was a popular supply, and an effective open air preacher—a form of Christian service in which he greatly delighted. It is said that when he received Dr. Collyer's invitation to become his assistant he had already written, but not sent, his acceptance of a call from another church. Within a few months he succeeded to the sole pastorate, and was soon confronted with serious difficulties. While many were edified by his ministry, some were offended, and spoke of him as too young for the position. Such opposition only made him the more zealous to overcome evil with good, and the church was crowded with an appreciative congregation. About this time, or soon after, the Congregational order was fully adopted, and deacons first appointed. But other difficulties arose from the personal jealousies of cliques within the church; and ultimately some withdrew "who might not have profited so well had they remained." An opportunity for their withdrawal was afforded by the erection of Linden Grove church, which was needed to meet the claims of an increasing population, and was opened in May, 1857. The first sermon was preached by the Rev. Jas. Sherman; Mr. Betts was present, and afterwards preached there on many occasions.

Somewhat later a small chapel at Hatcham was rented, where preaching was commenced and a Sunday school established. It was long hoped that this might become the nucleus of a new church, but these hopes were not realised. The mission was carried on, with varying fortunes, for many years; but at length, by resolution of the church, it was discontinued in 1906.

Greater success attended another effort. The school accommodation at Hanover was very defective, and Mr. Betts projected a building which might serve for school and social purposes, and at the same time be a memorial of his revered predecessor. The project was happily realized; and in 1862 Collyer Hall was opened and paid for.

Another successful enterprise, which owed its inception to Mr. Betts, was the Surrey Congregational Union; the first meeting of which was held at Weybridge on 9th June, 1863. He was also a leading promoter of the united open air mission services on Sunday afternoons on Peckham Rye.

These and other labours were carried on in much bodily weakness; and twice Mr. Betts found it necessary to seek relief in a milder climate for several months. He died, after much suffering, on Tuesday, 1st December, 1868, in the 44th year of his age. His published works are a volume for the young, entitled *Words in Season*, and five or six sermons.

A brief memoir of Mr. Betts was written by the Rev. Thos. Ray, LL.D., a retired minister who at the time kept a school at Peckham, and rendered occasional aid during the pastor's illness.

Mr. Betts was followed, after an interval of above a year, by the Rev. GEO. B. RYLEY, who, after leaving Cheshunt College in 1866, had held a four years' pastorate at Bocking, in Essex. He came to Peckham in 1870, and remained till 1889. During this time the environment of Hanover was undergoing a steady change, which seriously affected the character of the congregation, and the methods of Christian work adapted to the new surroundings. The strain was probably increased by the erection, in 1899, of the church in Dulwich Grove.

The years of Mr. Ryley's pastorate were marked by the accomplishment of much useful work. In 1870 Collyer Hall was improved by the addition of a gallery, classrooms, and a smaller hall with a separate entrance, at a cost of £1,100. A working men's club was initiated, but this only lasted about four years. A literary society was formed in 1874, which still subsists. For several years a Christmas dinner was given in the large hall to some hundreds of poor children and aged people. This afterwards gave place to a soup kitchen, and this again to a daily meal for poor children, at the nominal charge of a halfpenny, but in many cases quite gratuitous. This continued until 1892.

Mr. Ryley was a hard worker and a good organizer, and was much esteemed for his efforts on behalf of the poor. During the later years of his pastorate he was a member of the London School Board, and did good service on its committees. After 19 years he removed to Christ Church, Addiscombe, and four years later to Bow. At length, in 1897, after more than 30 years' not unfruitful ministry in the free atmosphere of Nonconformity, he condescended to accept "orders" in the Episcopal Church!

Three short pastorates ensued. The Rev. Henry Barron, a student of New College, had in the course of fourteen years held pastorates at Portsmouth, Basingstoke, and at Batley (Yorks). While at Basingstoke he had been secretary of the Hants Congregational Union, and had honourably distinguished himself as a champion of religious liberty when the municipal authorities attempted to suppress the meetings of the Salvation Army. He accepted the call of Peckham in 1890, but somehow the situation proved uncongenial, and he only remained about a year. From 1891 to 1896 he ministered at East Finchley, and then retired in infirm health. He latterly resided at Tooting, where he organized the local Free Church Council. He was a man of genial disposition, high public spirit, and fine literary taste. He died, after a long and painful illness, on 27th August, 1902, in his 55th year, and was buried in Nunhead cemetery.

The Rev. JOHN WILLS, from Handsworth Wesleyan College followed from 1892 to 1894. He then removed to West Croydon, where he long exercised a useful ministry. He was succeeded by the Rev. J. W. BOWMAN, M.A., B.D., a student of Lancashire

College, who had ministered for five years at Newcastle. He came to Peckham in 1895, and resigned in 1900. Since then he has held a charge at Rothbury, (Northumberland), and is now at Whitby.

By this time it was evident that new conditions required new methods. The chapel was renovated, the electric light introduced, and "evenings for the people" instituted—where secular topics were dealt with in a religious spirit, and emphasis was laid on the fact that the Kingdom of God is concerned with the things of this life as well as the future. In 1901 the pastorate was undertaken by the Rev. JOHN JAS. POOL, B.D., son of the Rev. Robert Pool of Sedbergh. After studying at Sedbergh grammar school and Rotherham College, he had ministered for a short time at Todmorden, and then for six years at Union Chapel, Calcutta, and for ten years at the English Congregational church, Rheims. Under his guidance measures were adopted to increase the spiritual efficiency of the church by work on social lines. Men's Own and Women's Own meetings were instituted; a friendly At Home was arranged once a month, after the evening service; a Social Institute was founded, where encouragement was given to harmless recreation; and various departments of Congregational work were assigned to committees, not consisting exclusively of church members, which occasionally met in general council. In this work invaluable aid was rendered by Mr. WALTER J. J. FRANKS, formerly a lay preacher in the Methodist New Connexion, who in 1906 became assistant minister. The result of these efforts was seen in large accessions to the fellowship of the church, especially of the young. Meanwhile, however, the erection of Herne Hill church in 1904 led to some depletion of the congregation, and diminution of financial resources. Another cloud has lately arisen, in the retirement—through failing health—of the pastor. At first it was hoped that a sea voyage and a few months' rest would effect his restoration. But about Christmas, 1906, under urgent medical advice, he tendered his resignation, which was regretfully accepted, and a few weeks later he sailed for America. He is the author of several interesting works, of which *Woman's Influence in the East*, and a delightful memoir of his father, are the most noteworthy.

Mention must here be made of two members of the church who, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, have gone forth to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond. Miss ANNE KEET, in 1823, became the wife of the Rev. W. Campbell, of Bangalore; who after his retirement from foreign service held a pastorate at Croydon. The Rev. CHAS. THOS. PRICE, after a course of study at Cheshunt College, laboured in Madagascar from 1875 to 1882. He has since held pastorates at Lenham and Buckingham, and is now at Ross. Rev. BENJ. THOS. BUTCHER, also a Cheshunt

student, was appointed to New Guinea in 1904, and is labouring there on the Torres Straits station.

The 250th anniversary of the church was held on 14th April, 1907, and succeeding days. Memorial sermons were preached by the venerable Jas. Guinness Rogers, D.D., and a series of enthusiastic meetings followed on several evenings, inspired by gratitude for the past and hope for the future.

T. G. CRIPPEN.



MILL HILL SCHOOL.

The Centenary of Mill Hill School (1807-1907)

THE history of education among Nonconformists has yet to be written, but it may be said with certainty that when undertaken it will prove to be a most interesting field of research. Of the two thousand ministers who were ejected by the Act of Uniformity the greater number had been educated at Oxford or Cambridge. The two Universities themselves were governed by Puritans during the Commonwealth, and not the least famous of Oxford's vice-chancellors was the Independent, John Owen. No less eminent for learning than for piety, these evicted parsons in many cases set up schools of their own in spite of the penalties of the Clarendon Code. Among the private schools thus established was that of the Rev. Richard Swift, the vicar of Edgware until 1662. He was one of the few ejected ministers who had not been educated at the University, but he seems to have been a good classic notwithstanding.

The village of Mill Hill in which he started his school was "right off the high road" in every sense of the word, and was a fairly safe place of retreat for a persecuted dissenter. While Richard Swift was at Mill Hill, Richard Baxter was taking refuge at Totteridge, the adjoining village, and the two were subsequently still nearer neighbours when they were confined in Newgate for holding conventicles in their own houses. Swift had great difficulties with his school when the plague broke out and carried off several of his boys, but he ultimately recovered his numbers, and died in

1701, a moderately prosperous schoolmaster, in the 86th year of his age. Of the actual work done in his school we have no exact record ; but we can gather from descriptions of similar seminaries that it was by no means a narrow curriculum, including Greek, Latin, logic, metaphysics, natural and moral philosophy, rhetoric, theology, and Biblical criticism. "The history of such schools," says a well known writer, "would be the finest record of education, outside of the ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It is not improbable that in the early eighteenth century their academies afforded an education even superior to the contemporary Universities, superior if not in book learning at any rate in the culture of the finer virtues of life."

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, there was a marked decline ; and the need for a school on more adequate lines was very much felt among the Nonconformists of London. At a time of strain and stress, when the great shadow of Napoleon was still darkening the map of Europe, a meeting of prominent dissenters was held at the New London Tavern, Cheapside, with Mr. Samuel Favell in the chair, to found a school "for affording the best means for a sound, learned and pious education." The day chosen was June 18th, 1806, a day destined to become world renowned nine years later by the battle of Waterloo. It was not, however, until a full year afterwards, in June, 1807, that the school was an accomplished fact. The list of founders deserves to be given in full as a tribute to the strength of purpose and magnificent faith of a body of men who could venture to erect a school on such broad foundations at such an inauspicious time. The committee consisted of seven ministers and twenty laymen: The Revs. John Atkinson

(of Homerton College, Mill Hill's first headmaster), John Clapton, junr., (of the Weigh House), John Humphries (afterwards headmaster), Joseph Hughes (one of the founders of the Bible Society and its secretary) John Savile, John Pye-Smith (Fellow of the Royal Society and principal of Homerton College), John Townsend (founder of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum), and Messrs. W. Alers Hankey, W. Barnard, J. Benwell, J. Bunnell, Isaac Buxton, M.D., John Fowell Buxton, James Collins, Samuel Favell (the first treasurer), John Fenn, Joseph Fox, James Gurney, J. Gutteridge, E. Maitland, J. Page, W. Sabine, W. Savill, E. Stonard, E. Tompkins, H. Waymouth, W. Whitwell, J. Wilson. It is a remarkable fact that the foundations of Mill Hill should have been so extremely broad, seeing all the educational disadvantages under which Nonconformists had suffered for a century and a half. It was only a hundred years before that a Bill had been passed through both Houses of Parliament forbidding any to teach in a school without a licence from a bishop; who would be most unlikely to grant one to a Nonconformist. Another sixty years was still to elapse before the Universities would be opened to Nonconformists. And yet in founding Mill Hill it was distinctly stated that "while the school was intended mainly for dissenters, sons of Episcopalian parents would be very welcome, and no attempt would be made to proselytize—such a thing being entirely foreign to the catholic foundation of the school."

The school was commenced in Ridgway House; an old Jacobean mansion in which had lived a succession of Quakers — Jeremiah Harman, a descendant of one of Cromwell's Ironside colonels; Michael Russell, and his son-in-law Peter Collinson. The latter was an eminent botanist, and is believed

to have planted many of the trees still standing on the school estate. He was a friend of Benjamin Franklin, and of Linnaeus, who during a visit is said to have planted some cedars in the grounds. The successive headmasters at Ridgway House were (1) the Rev. John Atkinson (July 1807-Dec. 1810), (2) the Rev. Maurice Phillips (Jan. 1811-Dec. 1818), (3) the Rev. John Humphreys (April 1819-July 1825), and (4) James Corrie, M.D. (July 1825-Dec. 1827). How well these gentlemen acquitted themselves in their office is to be seen in the names of the eminent men who during these early years of the history of the school were among their pupils; such as the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, (1808-10) LL.D., of Leeds, chairman of the Congregational Union in 1847; Sir Thos. Noon Talfourd (1808-10), Justice of Common Pleas, friend of Lamb and Dickens, and author of *Ion* and other dramas; Henry Shaw (1815-), "father" of the city of St. Louis, Missouri, to which his benefactions amounted to about a million sterling; James Fraser (1816-19), founder of *Fraser's Magazine*; the Rev. Jas. Challis (1818-20), M.A., senior wrangler 1825, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and the Rev. H. Mayo Gunn, Congregational minister of Warminster, a notable champion of religious liberty.

The present schoolhouse, designed by Sir Wm. Tite, was commenced in 1825, and finished in 1827, at a cost of £25,000. Of the old boys who passed from the old house to the new the most noteworthy are the eminent church musician, the Rev. Thomas Helmore, M.A., "priest in ordinary" at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, editor of the *Hymnal Noted* and other works of the same class; and the Rev. Thos. Rawson Birks, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Professor of Moral Philosophy.

During the next seven years no less than three headmasters followed in quick succession : (5) the Rev. George Samuel Evans, M.A. Glas. (Dec. 1827-July 1828) ; (6) the Robert Cullen (Dec. 1828-May 1831) ; (7) the Rev. Henry Lea Berry, M.A. Glas., an old Mill Hill boy (May 1831-Sept. 1834). To this period belong some of the most distinguished alumni of the school, *e.g.*, the Rev. Robert Gandell (1829-30), M.A., Fellow of Hertford and Queen's Colleges, Oxford, and Laudian Professor of Arabic ; the Rev. Edward White (1829-32), of Kentish Town, author of *Life of Christ*, &c., and chairman of the Congregational Union, 1886 ; Sir Samuel Davenport (1830-33), LL.D., K.C.M.G., one of the earliest settlers in South Australia ; and the Right Rev. W. Jacobson, D.D., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Bishop of Chester.

The next headmaster was (8) Thomas Priestley, (Oct. 1834-Sept. 1852). He was grandnephew of the famous natural philosopher and Unitarian divine, the Rev. Joseph Priestley, LL.D. With him began what was long regarded as the school's golden age. During his administration, with the Rev. Wm. Clayton as chaplain, the number of boys rose to 134. It is a noteworthy fact that in 1838, the second year in which it was possible to achieve such a distinction, a Mill Hill boy, William Ridley, matriculating in London University, took the first place in honours for natural history and chemistry. Mr. Priestley's most eminent pupils were Benjamin Scott, F.R.A.S., for many years Chamberlain of the City of London ; the Very Rev. Thomas Edw. Bridgett (1837-9), rector of St. Joseph's R.C. Theological College, Teignmouth ; Thomas Barker (1840-43), J.P., D.L., editor of the *Daily News* ; Horatio Nelson Lay (1841-45), C.B., Chinese Secretary to Lord Elgin's special mission to China, 1858, Inspector General of Customs for

the Chinese Government, 1859-67 ; the Right Hon. Lord Winterstoke (1842-7), formerly M.P. for Coventry and Bristol, now chairman of the court of governors of the school ; Thomas Scrutton (1844-), member of the first London School Board, and remembered for many benefactions ; Albert Henry Bamfield (1844-6), Lieut.-general, distinguished for military service in India ; Philip Henry Sandelands (1844-7), Major-general ; Sir Alfred George Marten (1845-6), M.A., K.G., Fellow of St. John's College and M.P. for Cambridge ; Sir Wm. Roberts (1845-6), M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Medicine in the University of Manchester ; Honble. Alfred Peach Hensman (1846-8), Attorney-General of Western Australia, afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court.

The next headmaster was (9) the Rev. Philip Smith, B.A., Lond., an old Mill Hill boy and brother of the more famous Sir William Smith, of *Dictionary* renown. He ruled from December 1852 to July 1860. "None of the headmasters more successfully embodied the twofold idea with which the school was founded, scholarship and broad Evangelist Christianity," nor has any more adequately fulfilled the requirements of the school motto : "Et virtutem et Musas." Among his pupils may be mentioned Alexander Crum Brown (1853-4), D.Sc., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry in Edinburgh University ; Philip Henry Pye-Smith (1854-6), B.A., M.D., F.R.S., Vice-Chancellor of London University ; Sir Alfred Tristram Lawrence (1854-9), M.A., LL.B., Camb., K.C., Judge of the Supreme Court ; Sir Ernest Mason Satow (1856-59), K.C.M.G., H.M.'s Minister successively at Tangier, Tokio, and Peking ; Sir Albert Spicer (1858-60), Bart., M.P., chairman of the Congregational Union, 1893 ; and the Rev. Walter F. Adeney (1859), M.A., D.D., principal of Lancashire Independent College.

On the retirement of Mr. Smith several changes were made in the administration; and this fact, together with deficiency of funds, made the position of the next three headmasters extremely difficult. These were (10) the Rev. Wm. Flavel Hurndall, M.A., Lond., Ph.D. Heidelb., (July 1860-July 1863); (11) the Rev. Philip Chapman Barker, M.A., LL.B. Lond., (July 1863-July 1864); (12) the Rev. George D. Bartlett, M.A. Aber. (July 1864-July 1868). These all made earnest efforts to save the school from decline, but their efforts were unavailing, and in 1868 it was decided to close the school. Mr. Thos. Scrutton, however, succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of several prominent men, especially Samuel Morley, M.P., and the Rev. H. Alford, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. It was the time when the great battle for the abolition of tests in the Universities was being fought and won; and the governors of Mill Hill, being thus encouraged, resolved to continue the school on a broader foundation, and with an atmosphere from which the dominance of any particular sect should be carefully excluded. A new scheme was approved by the Court of Chancery; the property of the school was placed under the management of a newly elected court of governors, and all surplus income was directed to be applicable only to the improvement of the school. The new foundation was too late for Mill Hill to be recognized under the Public Schools Act of 1867; but it is only from the date of its reconstruction that it can claim really to have been a public school in the modern acceptation of the term.

The new headmaster was (13) Dr. R. F. Weymouth, M.A., the first D.Lit. of London University, (Sept. 1869-July 1886). He was able to gather around him an exceptionally efficient staff including the Rev. Robert Harley, F.R.S., Dr. Fred.

Stock, D.Lit. Lond., and Dr. J. A. H. Murray, editor of the great *Oxford Dictionary*. A long period of prosperity ensued, and many University and other distinctions were won by those who were educated in the school. Even during the preceding years of depression the honour of Mill Hill had been upheld by men like the Rev. H. Arnold Thomas (1861-) M.A. Lond. and Camb., chairman of the Congregational Union in 1898; and Alfred Cort Haddon (1867-8), M.A., Sc.D. Camb., F.R.S., F.Z.S., Professor of Zoology at Cambridge: and within a few years from the reconstruction of the school it sent forth Thos. Edw. Scrutton (1870-73), M.A. Lond. and Camb., LL.B. Lond., K.G., Fellow and Professor of Constitutional Law in University College, London; Thomas McKinnon Wood (1871-2), LL.D. St. And., chairman of London County Council, 1898; Owen Seaman (1874-8) M.A., Camb., Professor of Literature in the School of Science, Newcastle, and since editor of *Punch*; the Rev. S. Lavington Hart (1876-), M.A. Camb., D.Sc. Lond., Head of the Walford Hart Memorial College, Tientsin, China; George Kemp (1877-81), colonel and M.P.; and Herbert Fitz-Edwin Ward (1877-), African explorer. During Dr. Weymouth's headship Burton Bank was erected (1875) as a boarding house for 34 boys, the sanatorium and swimming bath were built, a school magazine and natural history society were founded, and the Old Millhillians' Club was inaugurated. The climax of this period was the distribution of prizes on "New Foundation Day" 1879, by the Rt. Honble. W. E. Gladstone, shortly after which the school's number reached the then unprecedented total of 180. After this the school entered on another period of depression, and in 1886 Dr. Weymouth resigned.

Shortly before this Dr. Murray had retired. For his convenience in working on the *Dictionary* he



RIDGWAY HOUSE
(original habitation of Mill Hill School).

had erected a wooden and iron building which was called the Scriptorium ; which on leaving he presented to the school for use as a reading room. It was unfortunately burnt down in 1902 ; but was rebuilt on an improved plan, from the design of Mr. T. E. Collcutt, F.R.I.B.A., in the following year.

From July 1886 to July 1891 the headmaster was (14) Mr. Chas. Vince, M.A. Camb., who subsequently sought fame as secretary of the Tariff Reform League. At his retirement the number of boys had fallen to 61.

A new era of prosperity began with the advent of his successor, (15) J. D. McClure, M.A., LL.D. Mus.B. Trin. Col. Camb. He at once threw his whole heart and soul into the development of the school, with a success which may be in some degree measured by a numerical test. In his first term the number of boys rose to 75, in May 1898, it was 185, and to-day it has reached the splendid total of 260. Under his direction the playing fields have been enlarged and levelled, the gymnasium rebuilt, the sanatorium enlarged, and a new museum and music rooms built. A headmaster's house was erected in 1897. The following year a new chapel was built from designs by Mr. Basil Champneys, and was formally opened for worship on New Foundation Day, 1898, by the Rev. Dr. Fairbairn ; the old chapel being transformed into a "big school." In 1899 a new block of class rooms and a chemical laboratory were added, largely through the generosity of Mr. Herbert Marnham. 1904 saw the erection of "Collinson House," with accommodation for 40 boys, from the designs of Mr. T. E. Collcutt; and since then Lord Winterstoke, to whom the new chapel was largely due, has crowned his many gifts by adding to them a new library. Meanwhile Mill Hill has held its own alike in the fields of sport and in competition for

scholarships at the Universities, in Class Lists and Triposes.

The achievements and prospects of the school were well summed up the other day in a speech delivered by the present headmaster. "Our hopes for the future must needs be founded on the experience of the past. The fact that there has been in the last few years a steady and continuous growth in the numbers attending shews that the school supplies a distinct want. The same period has witnessed a growth in the efficiency of the school and in the development of that *esprit de corps* which every great school invariably and inevitably inspires. It has been made clear that boys and masters trained under widely different conditions, and belonging to different churches, can and do live in mutual helpfulness and respect united by the strongest of ties—a common loyalty and a common faith.....In a few years at most the secondary schools of the kingdom will be of two types, (1) those supported wholly or in part from the public funds; (2) those which rely entirely on their own endowments and fees. There cannot be the least doubt as to which class Mill Hill must belong, for to accept State aid would be to destroy her very *raison d'être*. For Mill Hill is, in truth, a great religious foundation; great, not in the magnitude of endowment nor in the numbers gathered within her walls, but great in the work she is called upon to do, and in the principles of which she is the living embodiment. To support such an institution is not merely an act of loyalty to a beloved *alma mater*, but an act of loyalty to cherished convictions—an act of faith in a great principle. The school begins its second century of existence under happy auspices. Never has its equipment been so good; never have its numbers been so great; never has the school spirit been so

strong ; never has the faith in the future been so firm ; never has the ideal which Mill Hill imperfectly realises been so clear in the minds and hearts of her sons. We claim that in the past the school has stood for unity and comprehensiveness. In the future it must be our aim that Mill Hill continue not as an *un*-denominational (for she exists not for negations, but for the assertion of a positive truth) but rather as an *inter*-denominational school, second to none in equipment, character and teaching. Boys educated under the influence of such ideals, learning sympathy from differences, unity of spirit through diversities of training, must needs grow into large hearted, generous, tolerant yet earnest Christian manhood, and form no unworthy part of the true aristocracy of character which constitutes the real wealth of every nation."

The Centenary of the school was celebrated on 5th July of this year ; the prizes being distributed by the Rt. Hon. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. No less than seven Mill Hill boys are at this time members of the House of Commons ; of whom several were present at the celebration.

N. G. B. JAMES, M.A.

The Last Years of Penry

IT has been customary with the modern historians of the life of Penry, from Waddington onwards, to refer distinctly to his return from Scotland, to which he had fled on the seizure of the wandering press, as having taken place in the autumn of 1592. Earlier writers, such as Neal (*History of the Puritans*) and Fletcher (*History of Independency*), the latter of whom wrote only a few years before Waddington, without any explanation, and in evident ignorance of depositions which make it clear that Penry was in London at all events in November, give the early part of 1593 as the date for the return. But no writer, so far as I have discovered, seems to have been observant of the strong grounds for believing either of these dates to be inaccurate. Of the general time of the flight into Scotland, as having followed shortly after the seizure of the press and the arrest of the printers in August, 1589, there is no doubt; and there are points in the examination of Udall, minister at Newcastle-on-Tyne, which seem to make it almost absolutely certain that it took place in October of that year. If he returned in September of 1592, the date commonly given, there are three years of life in Scotland to be accounted for, and Mr. Grieve in his interesting and valuable introduction to the recent republication of the *Aequity* has the reflection which one might like to believe true: "It is pleasing to think that the devoted wife who so bravely shared the vicissitudes of her husband's course, and who in 1593 was left a widow with four

little daughters, had one period of comparative freedom from anxiety and settled home life." But is it after all so clear that Penry did remain in Scotland till 1592, or has there been some confusion between the time when he reached London, or at all events finally settled there, and the date of his leaving Scotland ?

First of all there is the distinct record in the Calendar of State Papers for Scotland after various entries referring to James VI.'s edict of banishment against him: "Dec. 18, 1590, Penry departed." Mr. Sidney Lee, in his article on Penry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, makes no reference to these State papers, but has the remark that "James told Elizabeth, Penry had left. But as matter of fact he had not." As, however, he gives no authority for this singular statement, it is allowable, perhaps, to put it down to surmise. If we can believe that Penry was somewhere in England, possibly in different places, carefully screening himself from undue observation, mingling here and there with "Brethren of the Separation" or the more advanced Puritans in Northamptonshire; in St. Alban's, that hot bed of Puritanism and Separatism, where there is definite testimony that at the time he was a welcome guest; or in "Norfolke and Suffolke," where his comrade, the writer of *Hay any Worke for Cooper?*, acknowledges that he has friends, and in whom, as bent on exile, we know from Penry's letters that he had deepest interest; then the suddenness of his action according to the previous view in joining the brethren in London immediately after long fellowship with the Presbyterians of Scotland passes away. Without dwelling on the direct testimony in depositions which make it perfectly plain that Penry was in and out of London during the closing months of 1592, a habit

which might easily have been adopted earlier ; or turning to some indirect allusions, such as his references to his papers first roughly made in Scotland bearing on Queen Elizabeth, which to my own mind seem clearer on the supposition that Penry had left Scotland a year or two previously, and had since been somewhat of a wanderer, but which might affect other readers differently ; there is one unqualified statement of Penry's which seems to make it absolutely clear that Penry was not living in Scotland after the close of 1590. In the letter written from "close prison" "this 10th of 4th month of April, 1593" to his four daughters, to be read "when they came to years of discretion and understanding," he reminds them: "Shew yourselves helpful and kind unto all strangers, and unto the people of Scotland, where I, your mother, and a couple of you, lived as strangers, and yet were welcome, and found great kindness in the name of our God." As we read the letter there must be no rash guess that Penry and his wife had left their two elder children behind, and that the two younger children were born in Scotland. The exigencies of time forbid this. Earlier in the letter Penry says: "The eldest of you is not yet four years old, and the youngest not yet four months." The youngest therefore was born shortly before Christmas, 1592, the oldest not earlier than April, 1589 ; and, as the way of speaking of her would seem to imply that the birth was not very long after that time, it may be regarded as certain that the eldest was an infant in arms when the parents took their flight in October of that year.*

* Remembering the incidents which gathered about the birth of this child, there is for us a peculiar significance in the Christian name (as shewn in the Amsterdam register of marriages) given to her by the parents—*Deliverance*. Then when we find this appearing as the first note of a fourfold benediction sent to the four daughters at the beginning of the letter—"Deliverance, Comfort, Safety, and Sure Hope," one may begin to wonder if the names of the other three daughters are hidden in the three other notes. Dare we venture to suggest as names, after the Puritan fashion, *Consolation, Salvation, and Hope*? In the marriage register, May 14, 1611, *Deliverance* is entered as "orphan," aged 21. This accords with the date given above.

Further, it can scarcely be doubted that the second child was born in 1590. It is clear that the other two were born out of Scotland.

It is just possible that the keen eyed legalist, so naturally found in an Historical Association, might be ready to remark the possibility of a double birth for the two younger children of Penry during the six or seven months commonly allowed for Penry's last days in England; there thus being possible, if one wished to argue it, a longer stay in Scotland than to the close of 1590, without its being hindered by the intruding birth of Penry's other children. It is certain that these two were not twins, for Penry refers to one as distinctly "the youngest." So the birth of the two has to be distributed in the two years after 1590.

Only one point may seem to prevent some difficulty—The translation of *Propositions and Principles of Divinitie propounded and disputed in the vniuersitie of Geneva*, written by Penry when in Scotland, was published in Edinburgh, 1591. But it would have been quite possible for Penry to make the translation in 1590, and when the edict of banishment at last impelled flight for it to be published in his absence. In the same way the depositions during the Marprelate examinations and trials make it quite clear that Penry's *Appellation* was in the hands of the printers in Rochelle whilst Penry was in Northamptonshire in 1589, and that it was published in March, 1589-90, after he had made his flight to Scotland.

One other suggestion might without unfairness be made; and if any definite references to Penry's presence in Scotland at any time after 1590 could be found, it would have to be made. Just as in the succeeding century, after the ejection of 1662, there were some who, like the devoted John Shuttlewood of Sulby, found some security from

the special district of their labours being in two contiguous counties, such as Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, so that magisterial action for one portion did not reach the other; so Penry, hunted in Scotland, and endangered in England, might have been in and out of either; even as in the closing months he was in and out of London, sometimes as far from it as Derby. If his friend John Udall, on whom he called in his flight to Scotland, was still in Newcastle-on-Tyne, this might well have been; but he had already entered on his long and unjust lingering in the Marshalsea prison of London.

One distinct reference there is, of course, in the examination of Penry before Mr. Justice Young, (dated April 5, 1593): "He sayth he came out of Scotland about September last in the company of John Edwards," and Edwards confirms this statement, substituting, however, November for September. One visit to Scotland, therefore, there was—probably a brief one—after what I would venture to call the definite return of December, 1590.

Is it not clear then that Penry's quiet rest in Scotland has to be shortened in our estimation by two years; and that in return we may think of him as in different parts of England, having ever closer fellowship with the scattered Brethren of the Separation, till in the autumn of 1592 he is prepared for full fellowship with them?

T. GASQUOINE.

John Asty and the Fleetwoods

IN Vol. II. No. 4 of these *Transactions* a brief account is recorded of the foundation of the Ropemakers' Alley (Little Moorfields) meeting-house. For twenty years John Asty was pastor; his association with the Fleetwood family, as is that of Isaac Watts with the Abneys, is noteworthy. The facts below are collected mainly from the earliest minute book of the church (now meeting at Latimer Chapel, Mile End Old Town), from John Asty's diary (which the present writer has not seen), and from *The Protestant Dissenter's Magazine* for 1799.

Asty, or Aste, was an East Anglian name. In 1612 Susan Knapp married Francis Asty of Bury. In 1672 (May 2) Robert Asty was licensed to preach at the house of Susan Adams, Halter Street, Bury. John Asty, who was born in 1667, was probably the second son of Robert Asty, who was then settled in Norwich. In 1675 (September 12) John Asty was received into Dr. Collinge's family; he remained there until 1683 at the expense of Samuel Smith of Colkirk; then he went to the academy of Thomas Rowe at Newington Green, where Isaac Watts was also a pupil. In 1695 (Nov. 18) he "came to live in the family of Smith Fleetwood, Esq., of Armingland Hall, near Norwich, to perform the work of the ministry as a chaplain in his house." This was the seat of the late Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, near Oulton.

On April 16, 1700, a letter was addressed to John Asty urging him to accept the vacant pastorate at

Amsterdam: he declined, retaining his private chaplaincy until 1710, when he preached on the last three Sundays in May at Ropemakers' Alley meeting-house. "I removed from Mr. Fleetwood's family about one year and three-quarters after his death, and came to London (October 14, 1710) being called to the pastoral office by the Church of Christ in Ropemaker's Alley. I was set apart April 4, 1711. The ministers were Mr. Trail, Ridgley, Foxon, Watts (preached), Mr. Collings, Clarke (prayed), and myself concluded the work of the day." On December 28, 1710, the church minutes record: "to Mr. Asty a gift at the Black Swan £10." The following names occur on the church roll of that year and the next: Lady Rich, Doctor Pack, Mrs. Moore, Madame Crouch (who on February 7, 1714, left a legacy of £100 to the funds), Madame Gibon or Gibbons (who on September 11, 1717, gave £100 to the church). There follows an entry: "pd. for 100 nominal stock in South Sea Company £112 5s." (September 13). Although there is evidence that John Asty stayed much with the Fleetwoods at Stoke Newington we find these entries in 1711 (October) "to sundry tradesmen at fitting up ye house viz £13 . 4 . 10"; (July 17) "to Mr. Asty 2 Qua Sallary to 24 June last"—an amount which shews he was in receipt of £50 a year with a manse. In 1712 Madame Fleetwood is found among the members; several of that family were members of the Bury Street congregation at this time.

The diary records: "A memorable day was June 23 1714, observed in our church by fasting & prayer for this nation, and the whole interest of God's church which were apprehended, not without cause, to be in the greatest danger. It was a day of fervent prayer: a very visible & mighty assistance did run through the whole work of the day,

minister & people exceedingly affected." In 1716 the minutes record several items of interest: Mr. Asty for River Water, 5/-; King's Tax for the Meeting House, £2 . 10 . 8; Mrs. Sarah Stanton receives £4, that being her annuity out of the Halliford Estate. In 1717: "pd Brother Jones for Tobacco for Br Hilliard 18/-"; on the previous October 21, "pd for a Load of Coles for Mr. Hilliard 15/-." On June 29, 1718, John Asty occupied the pulpit of Martin Tomkins of Stoke Newington, although a year later at the Salters' Hall conference he opposed the latter's views on the Trinity. The diary ceases in 1719 with a reference to the great drought and to the excessive sickness during the summer of that year.

The "Charge of Renewing the Lease & Repairing the Meeting House & dwelling House in Rope-maker's Alley. Ano 1722" which included a "Fine to the City of London for a lease of 21 years £170 . 0 . 0," was £536 . 19 . 6. Among the subscribers to the fund were Isaac Watts, a guinea; Madame Elen Fleetwood, three guineas, and her step-daughters: Mrs. Elizabeth Fleetwood, one guinea, and Mrs. Jane Fleetwood (who survived until 1761, and contributed to the funds of the church as late as 1758; she was "buried in linen" and left a legacy to the poor of Stoke Newington); Madame Richards; Madame Alice Bateman; Madame Cooke; Joseph Alleine, £5; John Duck, £10; John Thompson, £5—the last three then being deacons.

In 1723 Congregationalists and Presbyterians separated; a year later the roll of this church numbered 33 men and 68 "sisters," among whom were Elen Fleetwood, Elizabeth Fleetwood, Mary Carter, and Hannah Paul (who died while still a member, in 1783, at the age of 85 years).

In 1727 (September 25) John Asty was in the

chair at the original meeting, which numbered 35 members, of "The Board of Independent Ministers resident in and about the Cities of London and Westminster." In 1728 (June 23) he preached a funeral sermon on Mrs. Elizabeth Fleetwood, spinster, of Stoke Newington, who was "buried in A velvett Coffin in the church" there. Her will was proved August 28, and under it John Asty benefited. This sermon, based on Job ix. 12, was published. Next year Smith Fleetwood (the second), her brother, died, leaving John Asty £5. John Asty died 1730 (January 20). Six days later he was buried in Bunhill Fields, his funeral being attended by Revs. Ridgley, Hall, Rawlings, Wilcox, Newman, and by Dr. J. Guyse, who preached the sermon, which was subsequently published. A final minute records: "1732. June 9. £35 towards Mr. Asty's funeral." Ellen Fleetwood died July 23, 1731, and was buried in a velvet coffin at Stoke Newington. She was the second wife and widow of Smith Fleetwood (the elder); among her lapsed bequests were: "To Mr. Asty, minister of the Gospel, a wainscot press & some of the books therein & £10 to the deacons of his church for the poor," a codicil, dated Nov. 25, 1728, left John Asty £10 in addition had he survived.

John Asty edited in 1721 *A Complete Collection of the Sermons of John Owen &c.*" Wilson (1799) refers to "remarks in the famous Dr. Owen's Life, which was drawn up by him & printed with a large volume of the Doctor's works. He (John Asty) was a serious preacher but not popular." He is spoken of in *The Bunhill Memorials* as "a worthy son of a pious father."

Peter Goodwin, from Great Yarmouth, succeeded John Asty. "N.B. I came with my family to London Sep 2. 1730 and was set apart to the pastoral office in the — Sep 24." "N.B. I was chosen

a lecturer at Pinner's Hall in the room of the Revd. Mr Jno Hurriou deceased Feb 3 1731/2. The numbers being as followeth :

First balloting : Mr Guise 35, Goodwin 32,
Rawling 16, Gladen 10, Jolly 3, Wood 3.

Second balloting Mr. Guise 37, Goodwin 59."

W. Wilson, quoting in 1799 from a document dated 1731, gives the dimensions of the Rope-makers' Alley meeting-house as "fifteen squares"; there were three galleries with four seats each.

STANLEY B. ATKINSON.

The Religious Condition of London in 1672 as reported to King and Court

by An Impartial Outsider

THIS is contained in what I imagine is really a *State Paper*, though preserved, not in the Record Office, but in the MS. Department of the British Museum.

It is part of Vol. 186 of the Stowe Collection. It has no name attached to it ; and the library authorities judge it to be only a careful (and quite reliable) copy of the original paper, which should be preserved elsewhere. It is composed of three parts—

- I. The first gives an account of the Lord Mayors and Sheriffs of London for the years immediately preceding this year, 1672, with the state of things in which it is the object of this Report to deal : (1) The Lord Mayors from 1669 ; and (2) The Sheriffs from 1668.
- II. The second part is headed " The Present State of the Nonconformists, 1672 " ; and
- III. The third is entitled " An Account of the Church of England Churches and Clergy in London, 1672."

Though the subjects are distinct enough—and at first glance the first section seems to have little or nothing to do with the second and third—the mode of handling them suffices to make them simply three sections of one and the same report.

Its writer had evidently been commissioned to ascertain as accurately as possible the attitude of the city towards the person of Charles II., or, more exactly, towards the Stuart monarchy, with a view

to determine how far the several elements or classes of the citizens might be relied upon to support the monarchy in any policy it might adopt in domestic or foreign politics, on which differences of judgement might arise. And what gives the paper such interest and importance to us is that the religious attitude of the civic officials and of the different classes of society is regarded as of serious and grave political importance. The Episcopalians of the Church of England are reckoned safe—as pledged to the monarchy—and bound to be loyal to the Court policy, whatever it may be; and those outside it are, *ipso facto*, “doubtfuls.” So that it has been deemed wise, as far as possible, to get reliable information as to the relative strength of the loyalists and doubtfuls in both the civic and religious life of London city at that time.

In the first part of his report, therefore, he passes in review the chief citizens of London who, through their recent tenure of high office (whether as sheriffs or mayors), have had or possessed at that very time special influence over the general body of the inhabitants; and in the other two sections forms a comparative estimate of the several sections of the *religious* public, and of their recognized and official leaders, whether outside the Church of England or in it.

He deals at first with those *outside*, and at much greater length, and thereby gives unconscious testimony to the importance of the Nonconformist element in the life of the city at that period.

Nonconformity in the city was undoubtedly of greater strength, proportionally, than it is easy, or even possible, for a London Nonconformist of these degenerate days to conceive, much less to realize. The great mass of the city population—

clerical and lay—was Puritan when Charles returned to such a delirious welcome on the 29th of May, 1660, a welcome which in its madness was the prototype of Mafeking day in our own sad times. And though, under the baneful guidance of Clarendon, Parliament had been doing its utmost—as the tool of the anti-Puritan party in the Church of England—to *crush* out the Puritan section, all it had succeeded in doing was to *drive* out its best and purest and noblest, to form a Nonconformity in character and ability stronger than itself. The wavering fringe of the population — always, alas ! too large — who had no intensity of spiritual life, and no strength of religious or ecclesiastical conviction, had no doubt been reduced to submission, or at any rate frightened out of “the opposition” by the penal statutes successively passed (Act of Uniformity, the First Conventicle Act, the Five Mile Act, and the Second Conventicle Act), but in London the three last had been to a large extent a dead letter, so large and influential a section of London’s population being resolutely opposed to their execution. Nor had the Church of England gained ground—rather had they seriously lost it—in connection with the two great calamities that had overtaken the city in 1665 and 1666, the Great Plague and the Great Fire. The magnificent opportunities which had been thus offered to the Church of England clergy of gaining a hold of the desolated population by an exhibition of self-denying devotion to the sick and dying in the one, and the homeless and churchless in the other, had been utterly neglected by their selfish panic-flight in the Plague time, and their indolent and impotent waiting for State help to rebuild their parish churches after the Fire ; and the unselfish zeal and Christlike activities of the Noncon-

formists in both emergencies had established them still more firmly in the respect and affection of the people.

It is only natural, therefore, that this "Royal Commissioner" should report on the Nonconformists before he touched upon the Church of England.

Of course, he makes the best he can of the Church of England, and the worst he can of the Nonconformists; but he uses the whip of scorn pretty impartially. Though doubtless an adherent of the State Church, he is more a "man of the world" than a man of the Church. His religious nature is not very quick nor fervent, but his eyes are very keen to see the foibles of others, and he delights to shew the shrewdness of his judgement in the case of all conduct which is capable of being construed as under the play of mixed motives, and the result is a delightfully spicy account of the various sects among Dissenters and the different clergy in the Church of England.

Stowe 186. I.

Lord Mayors of London, 1672

1669. S^r William Turner—a person esteemed zealous for the Church, until the year of the Mayoralty. Then he espoused the interests of the Non-conformists. Under him they first gained the confidence of meeting openly; which confidence, as it had its original from his courting of them, so it hath since encreased (*sic*) to the dayly affronting his Majesties Authority. About 3 months before his mayoralty expired, there were frequent consultations at his house with the heads of the nonconformists about continuing him Lord Mayor another year, which designe they brought upon the stage on Michaelmas day, and carried it on with such arrogance and tumult that the peace of the City was in great hazard, and if the modesty of the Royal party had not been very great, it might have been a bloody Michaelmas Day.

Sir John Lawrence and S^r William Turner have now no

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considerable Interest in London: no, not among the Dissenters; for what they gained by their treacherously complying with that party (suffering them to break the Laws) that they have lost by their imperious & insolent behaviour towards almost all persons they have had to doe with.

But it is judged by knowing persons, most pernicious to his Majesty to suffer inferior Magistrates to grow popular by giving indulgence, and it is wish't the Liberty some Lord Mayors of London have largely given to the Sectaries hath not in a great measure brought about the fatal necessity upon his Majesty of tolerating now—to the great disturbance of many of his ancient Loyal subjects.

1670. S^r Samuel Starling, when he came to be Lord Mayor, put in Execution the Laws vigerously (*sic*) against the Phanaticks. Herein he found greater difficulty and opposition, because his immediate predecessor(s) Sir William Turner had given them all manner of Liberty. Ever since he hath been branded by them with all the marks of infamy. He is a person of good Learning: a solid judgment, & great courage, contemning all Danger for the safety of his Majesty's government.
1671. Sir *Richard Ford* succeeded him in the Chair. He suspended the Execution of the Laws against the Non-conformists by which he gained the applause of all that partie, though they had used all the villanous arts imaginable to keep him out of the Government. He is a man of excellent parts, and may do his Majesty excellent service in the City.
1672. S^r George Waterman, the present Lord Mayor, a person almost void of understanding, but not of will. He is very weake in the one, but most Perverse in the other. He employs abundance of time, but does no business. He for a while was guided by S^r John Lawrence who Ledd (*sic*) him astray, but he begins to hearken now to the Court of Aldermen, who dispatch their business with great Quiet since the Evill spirit of S^r John Lawrence is departed from them.
1673. S^r Robert Hanson is a person (who) heartily Loves the King's interest, and will next year make a better Lord Mayor than the present, he having a better understanding & a better conscience.

Sheriffs.

1668. *John Forth* is a hasty, passionate person; no lover of the Church of England, but makes it his business to cast

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reproach on those that are so. It is concluded by very many—that his Loyalty consisteth much in his Excise farms, and the profit he makes by them. He rarely sees the inside of a Church, and therefore it cannot be said how he behaves himself there. He hath a Consecrated Chappell in his own house, but that is all of Conformity that he hath. A Nonconformist & a Brewer officiating there, when he is at Leasure on a Sunday to heare. He is a man of no reputation for keeping his word.

1670. *Daniel Forth* is a person that hath much more command of his passion than his Brother ; hath a greater care of his words, and a man of greater abilitys in business, but as to Church affairs of the same principle with his brother. He hath good interest in some considerable Nonconformists.
1670. *Patience Ward* hath had a wife many years, but whether they were ever married is a question unless it were according to the directory of the Quakers. He is a very considerable merchant. What interest he hath is among the Nonconformists, and that is not much.
1671. *John Moore* ; brought in as Alderman by St John Lawrence & St William Turner . . . to bring in such a party into the Court of Aldermen, favourers of Nonconformists, as might be an Overballance to the Loyall Church party, & to strengthen themselves.

St John Lawrence & St William Turner did put affronts and indignities upon some of the younger Aldermen by which they were almost totally discouraged from appearing in any publick business ; but the case is now altered.

As to Alderman Moore, there is very good ground to believe that he will prove a very good magistrate.

II.

The Present State of the Nonconformists, 1672.

The Protestant Nonconformists make up a considerable part of the nation ; they are divided into *four* parts.

The *Presbaterians* (*sic*), The *Independants* (*sic*), The *Anabaptist*, The *Quakers* & *5th Monarchy* men.

The Danger to the Monarchy of England, may be, is not alike from all of these

“ I. The Presbaterians, so called, are Least to be Feared, many of the most considerable of them, both Ministers and People, being heartily affected to the Government, both Civill and Ecclesiasticall,

and if the renouncing of the Covenant, and a Ceremony or two, had not stuck so fast in their consciences that they could get them neither up nor down, they had not now stood in need of indulgence ; but had been of the Church, and had had their share of the preferment of it.

"The Pastors and People of this sort, generally frequent the Church and the service of it. That they are true friends of the Civill government appears by their vigorous endeavours to bring in the King from his Long Exile, and their joy when it was accomplished. Besides, many of those now alive, and who have a great interest in that Party, had no hand in the Late rebellious (*sic*) warr, nor in the mischiefs of it : they being either at school or young students in the University at the beginning and during the continuance of the warr.

"They are a party devided (*sic*) among themselves, some being for three-quarters conformity, some for half, some for a Quarter, & a few of them for none at all ; and those few, it is doubted, are something akin to the Jesuits. The one giving the Pope power of Excommunicating & deposing Kings, the other the same power to their Presbyterian consistory.

"These are of the right Scotch breed who would bring the King to the stool of repentance, when ever they shall judge that he hath transgressed. These will never own his Majesty's Supremacy in matters Ecclesiasticall unless it be now, in the business of indulgence.

"Setting aside some of the best preachers of the Presbaterians, the rest will hardly gett a living by toleration, for their people are generally covetous, and are not willing to pay their tithes and contributions too. Plurality of Church payments is as troublesome to them as plurality of Livings. It hath been known within two or three years that a Minister (with ten children) hath preacht a week day Lecture to a large conventicle within two miles of London, and for a year's pains hath not received above 9 pounds.

"The most popular men of this party are : D^r *Bates*, D^r *Seaman*, D^r *Manton*, D^r *Facombe*, D^r *Annesley*, M^r *Fenkins*, M^r *Watson*, M^r *Calamy*¹, M^r *West*² ; and M^r *Bull*, M^r *Mays*, M^r *Stancliffe*, all three partners in one great brewhouse, but men of great interest in their party, and good preachers : M^r *Senior*³, one much cried up by the women, & M^r *Woodcock*⁴, an excellent schollar (*sic*), M^r *Baxter*⁵ (the greatest person among them), and a

¹ *Mr. Calamy* is Edmund Calamy the second ; was ejected from Moreton in Essex, gathered a congregation in his father's house in Aldermanbury, afterwards (1672) being licensed to preach at Curriers' Hall, Cripplegate :

² *Edward West*, ejected from Whitenham, Berks ; his meeting-house was in Ropemakers' Alley.

³ *Thomas Senior*, lecturer in the house of Alderman Ashurst, in Hackney.

⁴ *Thomas Woodcock*, ejected from St. Andrew Undershaft (Leadenhall Street), preached in Hackney ; and afterwards with Dr. Bates. He was Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge ; and Proctor of the University.

⁵ The great *Richard Baxter*.

few more. There are some others that draw great numbers after them, from whom his Majesty cannot expect any continued peaceableness, neither will they themselves finde their congregation to continue to them. Before the Act of Uniformity these men were so inconsiderable that they did almost preach to their Church walls; and it is possible it will be so again, now that the penalty of the Laws is suspended, and the terrible thing called persecution laid asleep—the only thing that gave them a reputation: among these there is M^r Doolittle^a, the two M^r Vincents^b, M^r Barrum^c, &c.

2. "The *Independents* are the next considerable party, and in some respects more considerable than the former, if not for number, yet for their unity among themselves, & from the danger that may arise (*sic*) from their evil Principles. They are perfectly united among themselves. There's no devision (*sic*) between their Churches, nor in their Churches, between the particular members thereof.

"There (*sic*) Pastors have an absolute dominion, for a maid or a widow cannot make honest provision for the flesh in the Hon^{ble} way of Matrimony without their consent. Once upon a time, not long ago, a Marchant who had lived many years beyond the sea, and returning rich to his own country, spyed an independent virgin beautiful and rich, and was immediately wounded to the very heart. He humbly implores the help of the maid, who told him she could not marry without the consent of her spiritual guides. Love directs the Languishing Lover to him, who questions with him what Church he was of. He told him, Of the Church of England. 'Why then,' quoth he, 'you must get a Church of England mistress. But if you will become a member of my Congregation, make confession of your faith openly, and enter into our spiritual Church-covenant, I will then undertake to melt down your fair enemy to a compliance with your desires.' Oh powerful & mighty Love! the Lovesick man accepts the conditions, studies a confession of faith, reads it openly to the People, is admitted a member, and so gains a free use both of his own members and commodities. By this means, 'tis not to be imagined how many persons of Estates are brought to joyn with them. But they are careful that they admit few or no poor ones to come in among them: for they worship the Golden Fleece, and their Ministers are very rich. The same power the Pastors have over the persons of their people, the same they have over their Estate. Among their Evill principles, this is the worst. They hate Monarchy; and that his Majesty would find, if they had but a fitting opportunity. The

^a Thomas Doolittle, ejected from St. Alphage's, London Wall; conducted a school (or academy for students for the ministry) in Moorfields.

^b Thomas Vincent, ejected from St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street; and Nathaniel Vincent, ejected from Langley Marsh, Bucks (of Southwark).

^c Andrew or Arthur Barham, ejected from St. Helen's, Bishopsgate; of Hackney.

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heads of this party now alive are : D^r Goodwyn⁹, D^r Owen¹⁰, M^r Phillip Nye¹¹, M^r Joseph Caryl¹², M^r George Griffiths¹³, M^r Thomas Brookes¹⁴, and M^r Meade¹⁵, who hath that Congregation that was M^r Greenhill's at Stepney.

"Carril and Goodwin were in the late times called the Apostles of Cromwell. These several persons never exprest the least trouble, sorrow, or repentance for that Horrid act of Murdering Charles the first, nor for any other of the detestable Villanies committed in the Late times, but promoted, approved, and applauded them. When they have been beseecht to speak a few words to the Usurper to spare some of the King's party condemned to slaughter, as in the case of D^r Hewet & others, they would profess they could not in conscience shew mercy to any of the enemies of God & his people.

"One very considerable person, an Independent now alive, and powerful among them, but now minister, when the news was brought to the Exchange that the Fatal Stroke was struck, and that the King was murdered, pulled off his hat, & lifting up his hand to heaven, cryed 'Thanks be to God, that Great tyrant is fallen.' These things, it is hoped, will prevail with his Majesty, though he indulge them, yet to keep a strick (*sic*) eye over them, and a strong Guard upon them."

Parallel

Presbaterians

The Presbaterians are more in number by much

- " " are generally for Government by Bishops.
- " " are weak in their *Politicks* & open in their councilis
- " " had by their rebellion gott all power into their hands

Independants

The Independents are *more* united

- " " are for *no government*
- " " are cunning, subtile persons, secret & close in their designs
- " " cheated them out of it, & made fools of them ever after

Both parties are rich & have great interest in trade, and have made it their great designe to cast all the reproach of Ignorance, Lazyness, and immorality upon the conforming clergy, that they

⁹ Dr. Thomas Goodwin, ejected from the Presidentship of Magdalen College, Oxford; preached to a congregation in Cripplegate.

¹⁰ Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Chancellor of the University; retired first to Stadham, then to London.

¹¹ Phillip Nye, ejected from St. Bartholomew, Exchange; preached in Cherry Tree Alley, Bunhill.

¹² Joseph Caryl, ejected from St. Magnus, London; ministered in Leadenhall Street.

¹³ George Griffiths, ejected from Charter House, London; ministered in Addle Street, Wood Street.

¹⁴ Thomas Brooks, ejected from St. Margaret's, Fish Street Hill; ministered in Lime Street.

¹⁵ Matthew Mead, ejected from Shadwell; settled at Worcester House, Stepney; went to Holland, and had just returned to Stepney.

might take off the esteem of the people from them, which hath in a great measure succeeded.

3. The *Anabaptists* are not so numerous as the former parties : yet they are a large Body. Some of their chief teachers are *Capt. Kiffen*¹⁶, *M: Knowles*¹⁷, *M: Harrison*¹⁸, *M: Gosnold*¹⁹, *M: Northcoit*²⁰. Their not baptising their children, and their rebaptising, is judged an opinion not dangerous to the Civil authority. Very many of them were active Vigilant men in the Late times, and were good soldiers & officers under the Commonwealth & Oliver ; but they were most zealous for a Commonwealth, and so they are to this day. His Majesty's Indulgence puts them & some of the Independant Churches into as good a Condition as to their conscience & in some other regards, as they were in before his Majesties restoration. The Independants & Anabaptists, with some few of the fiercer Presbyterians, are proud & censorious ;—quakerlike they will denounce judgments both upon Kings—and Kingdom, upon any pretended miscarriage they do but hear of. These are great frequenters of Coffee-houses, & great improvers of any little matter that is but whispered against the Court or the Government.

These with some hypocritical Loyallists (*sic*) take pains to divulge any thing that may cast reproach upon the King, and to disperse any scandalous verses of which many have been abroad of late. Whitehall is belyed if this be not done also there. These are busy in State affairs, and crying out upon taxes and burdens²¹ ; never considering the vast priviledges (*sic*) England enjoys, above any Nation upon earth, so that it is most heartily and earnestly deprecated by the true lovers of the King that they do not joynly turn head against the King, if his Majesty should be brought to straits by his foreign warr. How far the *indulgence* may prevent this, time will show, but it is a great prudence to provide for the worst.

4. The *Quakers* most truly deserve the character of rude, saucie, unmannerly, with all the ugly names that belong to an illbred person ; it is no wrong to them to say they are mad, & fitter for Bedlam than sober companie. 'Tis impossible to give account of their Teachers, they being all so ; both men and women. Their places of meeting were lately these : one at *Ratcliffe*, one at *Wheeler Street* ; these by the industry of S: John Robinson were broaken to pieces.²²

¹⁶ *Alderman Wm. Kiffen*, "a gentleman of note among the Baptists, and of interest at court."—*Neal* : *Pur.* III, 391.

¹⁷ This can be none other than the venerable *Hanserd Knollys*.

¹⁸ *Edward Harrison*, licensed to preach in his own house in *Petty France*, July 25, 1672 (a second licence for himself September 5, 1672).

¹⁹ *John Gosnold*, educated at Cambridge, chaplain to Lord Grey, and licensed for Little Moorfields.

²⁰ Not identified.

²¹ This paragraph calls to mind a letter from Sir Thomas Player to Williamson, written July 6, 1671 (*S.P. Dom. Car. II.* 291, 143). Could Sir Thomas Player be the author of this ?

²² Sir John Robinson was Lieutenant of the Tower. *Ratcliff* and *Wheeler Street* were in the Liberties of the Tower (or Tower Hamlets).

One at Devonshire house without Bishopsgate : one in St. John's Street, one in Westminster : one in Southwark, two within the walls of London, viz! one in Gracechurch Street & one at the Bull and Mouth within Aldersgate. There are among them many rich men that drive very considerable trades and are, as to the affairs of the world, as wise in their generation as any person whatever ; in their Traffick they will tell you they will make but a word, but 'tis great odds if at that word they do not Cheat you. Though they seem mortified, yet they are intollerable Lovers of the flesh &c. Their greate deluding Maxime which flatters many people into a good opinion of their innocency is they cannot fight, that they are peaceably to suffer all wrongs, & to revenge nothing ; but at the same time, they will curse you from the beginning of the bible to the End of the Revelations, even from making Caen a Vagabond to the binding of the Red Dragon and casting him into the Bottomless pitt. And there's no question if the Spirit (that is Advantage or Opportunity) did but move, they themselves would be the inflictors of all the punishments and plagues mentioned in that Sacred Book, and that with all imaginable Cruelty. But notwithstanding the pretence of not fighting, they have in the time of warr fought, and that desperately. They tell you Likewise, as they will not fight against you, neither can they pay any taxes, or find any Armes for fighting ; no, not against the Great Turk or the Pope, if they should come to fight us. But there is a good cure for this very ill principle, in the Law, viz. "Distraining," which severity makes them very angry. But they restrain it for fear it should be discovered that the Old Man is stirring in them.

They are but *Fifth Monarchy* men *disguised* ; and they would be found such, but that at present they consult their own interest. They are very carefull of their poor, & very diligent in increasing their party, ready to assist one another upon all occasions. They hate all other Nonconformists as much, if not more, than they hate a Church man. —Captain Mead,²⁸ now a Quaker, a person of great Estate & great Trade, he hath been a Presbaterian & Independant, & what not. If he may be believed, the Presbaterians & Independants are knaves, dangerous persons, ready to do any mischief : when he was one of them, he professes he was ready to do so, and he is confident his Majesty cannot be safe from any of the Dissenters but the Quakers. They are no very great party, but they are stout, and able to endure hardship. While the Laws were executed upon them, and their Meetings broke up by force, they had many spectators, and some compassionate ones, & this made the world believe they were numerous, but since they have handsome (*sic*) Liberty, no body concerns themselves about them.

²⁸ ? William Mead who with William Penn had been accused of holding a tumultuous assembly in the public streets, and at the trial in August, 1670, was acquitted by the jury, but was still fined and imprisoned (Dr. Stoughton, *History of Religion in England*, III., 390.)

If there be any sharp or severe reflections in the foregoing papers they are not to Exasperate his Majesty or to discourage him in his begun indulgence, for very many understanding persons, conformists and nonconformists, do highly applaud his Majesty's prudence & Clemency, and there is none displeas'd but a few (*sic*) waspish Churchmen : but they are only to excite the King for his own safety, nor to trust these people with any Civill or Military Employment, And to have continually such a force in pay, beside of his trained bands, as may be able to suppress any tumults that may arise.

III.

An Account of the Church of England Churches
and Clergy in London, 1672

And now it were most passionately to be wished that the Clergy of the Church of England, who, ever since his Majesty's most happy return, have enjoy'd the honours & profits of that Church to a greater degree than any of their predecessors, had been but as industrious in a Right and Legall way, as the Nonconformists have been in a wrong and unlawfull way.

But notwithstanding what hath been said, it may be proved that London, and the parts about it, were never furnisht with more able, pious, Learned, ingenious, gentile ministers, not since there was preaching than before the plague and fire. Those two dreadfull calamities seperated Ministers and people, not only in place, but Affection, and many of them are not yet returned to a good understanding one of Another.

The Persons of Greatest reputation, and that have the greatest Interest among the people are These that follow :

St. Andrew Undershaft—M^r Grove

All Halliows Steyning—M^r Holland

St. Botolph's Bishopsgate—D^r Bagshaw, a man of excellent Learning. A most ingenious preacher, one that hath a very great congregation & great command over them.

St. Andrews Holborn. D^r Stillingfleet, one that needs no character, only he is greatly admired by all Learned men, and greatly beloved by all good protestants.

St. Bartholomew the great—M^r Burgess.

St. Olive's, Hart Street—M^r Mills

St. Bartholomew the Less—M^r Orme

The Three Last are good Schollars, good Preachers, & have a good interest in their parishes.

- D^r. Arden, minister of St. Botolph's, Algate (*sic*), a very great parish, he is a gentile Clergyman, and well beloved by his people
- D^r. Mason, minister of St. Peters the Poor, an ingenious person, but not very popular
- D^r. Lewes of All Hallows the Wall—a sober, honest minister.
- Lothbury—M^r. Flower }
 St. Ethelburgugh—M^r. Clark } These are men of no reputation, neither in their
 St. James, Duke Place,—M^r. Harrison } Parishes, nor in London.
- D^r. Tillotson preaches a Lecture every Tuesday morning in St. Martin's Church, not farr from the Exchange. A great number of the Clergy, & of considerable merchants resort to it. He is a Person of very great Esteem
- Dr. Horton is minister of St. Helen's, he hath a very great congregation of half conformists, in whom he hath very great interest. he is a man of very good Learning, and a constant, Laborious preacher.
- St. Botolph, Aldersgate—D^r. Wells. An Excellent person, greatly valued by all sorts about him.
- St. Dunstans in the West—M^r. Thomson, one highly conceited of himself, but very few beside are.
 The parishes forenamed escaped the Fire.
- St. Christopher's—A Church, almost furnisht—M^r. John Hall, a good preacher.
- St. Dunstan's in the East—M^r. Giffard, Divinity reader at Gresham Colledge, an excellent minister, a most Laborious person in his work, by which he hath a very great Audience, & but few Nonconformists in his parish.—From his person it may be observ'd that Learned, constant, preaching would cure a great deal of Nonconformity & prevent a great deal more: his Church was first furnisht since the Fire, & is Adorned with a handsome Organ
- St. Mary Aldermanbury will be finisht this year. D^r. Ford, minister, a worthy man, an ingenious Poet, & very good preacher, a man of very good interest. he preaches yet in a Hall till his Church be finisht.
- St. Stephens, Coleman Street.—M^r. Neast, minister, very well beloved by his parish, unless by a few, froward, ill-conditioned phanaticks: a painfull person in his employment, preaches in a Tabernacle, as the people call it.
- St. Sepulchers—a very Large Church, built since the fire—D^r. Bell, minister, a person who, by his great Charity, and constant Laborious preaching, hath very much gained the affections of that great people committed to him.
- St. Margaret, Milk Street annexed to St. Lawrence, Jewry—D^r. Withcheott minister, a man of great Learning, and of a very great interest among the Considerable people of London:

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he preaches every Sunday in the Afternoon to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, in their Chappell at the Guildhall.

St. Magnus,—M^r. Ivory } men of good repute with their
St. Margaret Pattens—D^r. Hicks } people

St. Mary Woolnoth—a beautifull Church with an Organ.
Suddenly built after the fire by the great bounty and care
of Robert Vyner—M^r. Crispe parson

St. Mary Hill—M^r. Thomas White

Both these Last popular preachers, and well beloved

St. Mildred's Poultry—D^r. Perenchaise, a great schollar, very
well approved by his people.

St. Mildred's, Bread Street—M^r. Durham, a most excellent
preacher, constant among his people, one that hath great
power with them.

There are some others, persons that deserve for their parts,
Learning, and sober Carriage, a very good Esteem, but their
Churches not being built, they are strangers to their people, and
their people hardly know them. And there are some, byreason of
their mean parts, or no good behaviour, have no Love in their
parishes, unless among the worst and most inconsiderable. There
are others whose Learning deserves honour and Esteem, but their
nonresidency spoils their reputation and interest; as D^r. Bridoke,
Parson of St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange, Prebend of
Windsor, Dean of Salisbury, & rector of Stands in Lincolnshire.
D^r. Hodges, Parson of St. Peters, Cornhill, Dean of Hereford, and
parson of Kensington in Middlesex

D^r. Cartwright, Parson of St. Thomas Apostles, Prebend of St.
Paul's, & parson of Barkin (*sic*) in Essex.

D^r. Pritchard, Vicar of St. Giles Cripplegate, one of the greatest
parishes in England, Prebend of St. Paul's, and hath
another Living by Uxbridge, which so takes him off
from his very great charge at St. Gilles (*sic*) Cripplegate,
that he preaches there but one sermon in Three Weeks,
his Church being then well filled.

G. LYON TURNER.

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